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20 JUNE 1986

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

ARAB MONETARY FUND FACING DIFFICULTIES

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 17 May 86 p 45

[Article: "Arab Monetary Fund Facing Economic Crisis. Activities of the Arab Monetary Fund Explain the Extent of its Ability to Help Countries which Are Passing through an Economic Crises. Its Annual Report Reveals Positives and Negatives"]

[Text] The Arab Monetary Fund, which was established in 1978 to support the balance of payments of Arab countries, is continuing its activities in a serious push, in spite of the disaster that has befallen it, and the losses of the fund, which are said to have increased, amounting to \$71 million.

The work of the fund this year is perhaps clear in that--with the exception of a few states--Arab balances of payments are in a regrettable condition, and it is known that its capabilities, if compared to the contemporary Arab economic crisis, seems insignificant and not analogous. This is what explains the fund's choices for work in narrow fields, and the lack of its initiative to lead the effort demanded to save a number of Arab nations from the claws of financial imbalance, with the accompanying drop in revenues, poverty, and perhaps famine.

Given this, the following question remains open: How does the fund work in these difficult conditions? This question needs a detailed answer.

According to the fund's annual report, which was issued recently, its circumstances are generally excellent. It seems that its current chairman, Mr Sa'id Ahmad Ghabbash, has been able to regain the trust of its shareholders. He has continued a policy of loans to member states and has continued to broaden its scope. Here are some of the facts about its activities:

--The fund continued its activities in 1985. Its work included support for balances of payments, development of commercial exchange, offering technical assistance to member states in monetary and banking matters, and work on development of Arab financial markets.

--In the area of support for balances of payments, the executive board of directors in 1983 decided to lower the limit of loans offered to member states from its own resources. In addition, it decreased the compensatory loan

excluded from the upper limits for loans, so as to change the payment share of the member to be equal to half of it. Within the scope of the lowered upper limit for all loans, the upper limit for automatic loans remains as it was previously, that is, at 75 percent of the share of the borrowing nation. The limits for other loans after the decrease is 125 percent for regular loans, 175 percent for extended loans, and 50 percent for loans to facilitate commercial exchange. Further, the withdrawal of loans from the fund in any year was decreased from 200 percent of the payment share to 150 percent. Out of concern for the financial health of the fund, it was decided to postpone the commitment of any new loans from its own resources, since the net of the loans under contract is equal to its capital paid in convertible currencies. This, for the time being, is insurance for the additional resources of the fund, and, for the same consideration, it is permitted to offer automatic loans based on additional capital shares paid to the fund, and to defer offering other loans based on these shares as long as the members pay 85 percent of the total of all shares due.

In light of the increase of the liquid resources of the fund as a result of payment of some loans and payment by some states of the first installment of the increase in capital, the executive board of directors, in 1985, issued a directive which lowered the percentage mentioned to 85 percent, so as to make it possible to offer non-automatic loans proportional to any of the shares of the increase in capital if the members have paid 50 percent of the value of this share of the increase in capital.

--During 1985, the fees for services on regular, extended, compensatory, commercial exchange facilitation, and encouragement loans increased from .25 percent to .35 percent, and the percentage for automatic loans stayed the same. Further, the executive board of directors stipulated that to offer any new loan or to draw on a loan under contract, the borrower must have paid any installments and interest due.

--During 1985 the fund extended nine new loans with a value of 51 million Arab accounting dinars to five member states, which were withdrawn in full. For that reason, the loans of the fund to member states rose, after a fall from a peak of about 85 million Arab accounting dinars in 1983, to about 18.5 million Arab accounting dinars in 1984. Of these loans there are six automatic loans with a total value of 42.5 million Arab accounting dinars, utilized by Jordan, Iraq, Mauritania, Northern Yemen, and Morocco, with two loans. Two compensatory loans with a value of 7.76 million Arab accounting dinars were extended, one to Jordan to counter the sudden fall in export earnings from goods and services, and one to Northern Yemen to counter an unexpected balance of payments position arising from an increase in agricultural commodities imports caused by bad harvests. Also, it extended a loan of 800,000 Arab accounting dinars to Jordan including a facilitation to encourage commercial exchange among the member states.

--The fund has extended 53 loans to 10 of its member states totaling approximately 299 million Arab accounting dinars since it began its activities in 1978.

--The total for automatic loans during 1985 rose by about 12.4 million Arab accounting dinars, that is, by 27.3 percent over the total at the end of 1984. Also, the total increase for loans to facilitate encouragement of commercial exchange among member states was 1.7 million Arab accounting dinars, that is, 5.1 percent. The total for regular and extended loans outstanding decreased by about one million Arab accounting dinars, or about 7.8 percent.

--Among the causes for the stagnation in the total volume of outstanding loans is the preference by some of the borrowing members to be satisfied with types of loans that are not connected with correction programs, such as automatic, replacement, and commercial facilitation encouragement loans.

--In view of the linkage of the Arab accounting dinar and special units of rights of withdrawal, the issue of the changing structures of the basket of these units was a concern to the fund in the spring of 1985. In accordance with the changes, the weight of the Japanese yen was adjusted from 13 percent to 15 percent and the weight of the Australian pound and the French franc was adjusted from 13 percent to 12 percent. The weight of the American dollar and the West German mark remained unchanged.

This is the general situation of the Arab Monetary Fund. Will this year bring about developments in its situation and its role in light of the need of the Arab countries for capital instruments to support them and encourage them in this difficult time? It is known that 295.3 million accounting dinars of capital have been paid of an announced capital of 600 million accounting dinars, and that 105.4 million accounting dinars are due but not paid.

12780

CSO: 4404/328

ARMENIANS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST TURKISH PREMIER IN PARIS

Paris GAMK in Armenian/French 20-21 Apr 86 pp 1-2

[Article by Garo Ulubeyan]

[Text] On Thursday, 17 April, the Armenians of France, responding to a call issued by the Nor Seround FRA, demonstrated against Turgut Ozal, on a semiofficial visit to Paris. A preventive counterdemonstration in support of Ozal had been organized in the morning, without a doubt at the initiative of the Turkish Embassy. Buttressed by Greek and Cypriot delegations, the Human Rights League and Socialist youth groups, the Armenians of Paris (Greek-Armenian terrorists and separatists, according to Ankara) let Ozal know that the Armenians will always be on hand to remind him that silence on violations of human rights, military interventionism and Armenian genocide are not paying off.

It is in his capacity as a minister of a member country of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), a council meeting of which he chaired at the ministerial level, that Ozal finds himself in Paris this week. Having come to Paris unofficially, having assumed his presidency for his final year, with his term coming to an end this year, Ozal was greeted by the Armenians of France in his capacity as prime minister of the Republic of Turkey and head of the political party in power in Turkey, the party of the motherland.

Thus it was that on Thursday, 17 March, 300 Armenians jostled for position in the terreplein of Place Tategrain, a few meters from the OECD building, to let France know that no matter how unofficial this visit might be it could not pass unnoticed by them, thus demonstrating to the Turkish Government that the Armenians of France, in Paris, Lyons, and Marseilles would continue to stand in his path until their cause had been resolved, in order to remind him that his conscience, as the personification of a country that is still, in spite of superficial reforms, a dictatorship, will not allow him to have peace of mind.

Three hundred persons, however, who in Paris had responded to the call made by the Nor Seround FRA obviously are not a sufficiently sizable numerical presence to effectively support demands whose slogans broadcast over bullhorns: "Fascist Turkey...out of Turkey" had filled the square, which was suddenly invaded by the colors of the Dachnachtsoutioun FRA.

Why such a relatively weak mobilization? Why did not more Armenians come out to shout their demands in the face of Ozal? Doubtless because of the mostly unofficial character of this visit to France by Ozal, also doubtless because the purpose--economic--of this visit did not seem to them except remotely to concern the Armenian cause. Five months ago on 17 November 1985, when the Nor Seround FRA had called for a demonstration against the presence of Ozal at UNESCO, where he took part in the conference on the relations of a new economy of Islamic countries with the West, the Armenians could feel themselves once again slapped in the face: The symbolic role of UNESCO, the temporary host of Ozal, facilely dismissed the churches and monuments left abandoned or destroyed in Armenia.

What else could the OECD call to mind if not the world center for economic decision-making from which no one could presume to exclude Turkey, a sovereign state? An OECD meeting raises questions which are within the jurisdiction of the political and economic decision-makers of governments but in no way are they within the purview of the Armenian community, some will think. However, there are close relationships which permit one to say that the persistence of the Nor Seround in mobilizing the Armenians whenever Ozal, no matter in what capacity he comes to France, unofficially or officially, on whatever occasion he is received by France, is in no case the product of a short-term policy. Obviously, very economic matters were dealt with by the ministers of 30 countries: the world crisis, inflation, the North-South imbalance, and the adjustment of Third World debts... However, the economic weapon is an instrument of domination endowed with a power even greater than the strategic weapon. Economic matters establish bonds of solidarity and dependence which are as close as political or ideological bonds.

The Economic Alibi

In this connection, Ozal's trip to France is not as unimportant as it appears: Accompanied by his traditional entourage of businessmen, Ozal is playing to the hilt the role of a dynamic head of government whose principal concern as a statesman is the economic recovery of his country. We should note, however, that the economic aid Ozal is so prompt to beg for on behalf of his people's welfare is invested on a priority basis in armaments, a sector not very favorable to development.

Economic aid, if it does not manage to be progressively absorbed in the population, to be distributed there, if it is to help the armament effort, a very mediocre creator of jobs in developing countries, is more a burden than a contribution to the economic development of Turkey and to its political evolution. If the Armenians react to a visit of an economic nature by Ozal, it is because the aid he is going to request of necessity fills the coffers of the dictatorship, no matter what face it puts on, and finances the emergency measures ordered by the military; and the dictatorship in Turkey represents the impossibility of dialogue, a refusal to consider human rights, and military activities in Cyprus against the Greeks, Kurds, and Armenians.

For years, Turkey has counted on the Western powers, which are concerned about its political evolution, about the need for economic aid with the ability to impact on social policy and promote freedoms. Once again in the presence of the OECD ministers, Ozal lauded the virtues of liberalism, whose precepts Turkey conscientiously followed:

"Our objective should be a 'free trade system' and not a 'freer trade system'... The political, economic, and trade policies implemented in Turkey since 1980 reflect this conviction... Turkey complies with the most liberal measures. However, it is difficult to say that Turkey, which is increasingly engaged in this process in spite of its level of development, has received encouraging responses from member countries. Our exports are facing various obstacles, most particularly textile obstacles," Ozal said in one of his speeches before the ministers of the member countries.

What Ozal fails to understand is that liberalism falls within the framework of an overall policy and that it supports exports poorly; lacking the structures of accommodation, liberalism can easily adapt itself to the dictatorship; Turkey is seeking to provide itself with the means of being a modern power; however, it is unable to find legitimacy for this power because it refuses even to take its history into consideration.

Finally, if the purpose of Ozal's visit is not unimportant, the place of this visit, France, also is not unimportant.

A trip to France, a country with which Turkey is in disagreement on a certain number of questions, notably the question of Armenian genocide, is never unofficial for a Turkish official. Ozal has a client to reconquer, as France's voice is vital to its accession to the EEC. The change in government has seemed to create an opening into which the foreign ministry and the Turkish authorities, who apparently are counting a great deal on Jacques Chirac to improve relations at all levels, including the need to take back certain statements or forget them wish to rush. That is the reason for the recent demonstrations of democracy on the part of Turkey, accompanied, however, by the emergency measures. It was normal for the Armenians, supported by the Cypriots and Greeks, to remind France--Ozal spoke with Chirac but they only talked about economic matters--of what Ozal personifies. A week before 24 April, Ozal's visit was an opportune reminder of the political significance of that day of national mourning.

8143/9869
CSO: 4619/42

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

GENOCIDE ANNIVERSARY, LABOR DAY OBSERVED IN SSR/ARMENIA

Paris GAMK in Armenian/French 11-12 May 86 pp 1, 4

[Article by Garo Ulubeyan: "24 April and 1 May in Armenia"]

[Text] Erevan on a 24 April is a place of pilgrimage for all the Armenians of the world, whatever their political opinions may be; indeed, what could be more moving, and, at the same time, more assuring than the official commemoration of a date which Armenians everywhere else are fighting to have governments recognize, in the history of peoples, as the date of the 20th century's first genocide? Can any other thoughts arise when hundreds of thousands of Armenians assemble on Dzidzernagaberd hill to reflect in front of the monument to the victims of genocide? Because officially recognizing this date does not diminish the emotional impact created by this indescribable sight, the uninterrupted flow of Armenians who have come from all the corners of the world, from America, from Sweden, from France, from the Middle East, and the Armenians from Armenia of course: an uninterrupted and continually renewed flow which, from 0800 in the morning to 0300 the next morning snakes its way up from the base to the wooded summit of Dzidzernagaberd.

There are of course neither banners nor signs nor slogans of protest: here people do not speak of lost Armenian territories or of the cruelty of Turkey. Besides, people do not speak: silence and emotion are the rule; but the expressions on people's faces say much more, and there is strength in numbers which show that Armenians in the hundreds of thousands have not forgotten. There are some silences which speak, which cry out.

At around 1000, notable figures, led by Karen Demirdjian, the secretary general of the Communist Party of Armenia, will come to lay a wreath in front of the flame. Mihran Kehiehian, the national president of Armenian war veterans from France, took part in this ceremony. At 1100, before a large crowd of Armenians, Vasken I conducted a mass on Dzidzernagaberd; it was interesting to see Armenians from the Soviet diaspora there as well.

In complete contrast to this commemoration of national mourning is Labor Day, 1 May, the huge celebration of which, in the streets of the capital just one week after 24 April, constitutes the second Armenian mob scene offered by the services of Intourist to Armenians from the diaspora who had come to

commemorate 24 April in Armenia on a 15-day trip. On Labor Day 1986, as on all Labor Days, Labor Day brought thousands of people out into the streets of Erevan, decorated with hundreds of red flags and banners extolling the value of labor and boasting of the merits and the values of socialist society, which rang with the slogans of Armenian workers. This thick crowd, marching together through the streets of Erevan, as in all the cities of the USSR, where 1 May is a major holiday, restores meaning to labor: as the driving force within society, labor provides the occasion for huge processions of people in all socialist countries, and even if such events have become institutionalized, they are still impressive: here there are no protests because the state automatically takes care of them; it is labor as a value and workers as its agents who are being celebrated; no one contests this fact or especially the fact that the state exclusively takes on the distribution of labor and does its best to allocate it to all social agents.

There is no contention, then, but rather genuine membership in a world in which labor is the reason for a holiday, the most important one on the socialist calendar, which will last 3 days.

Here there are 3 days during which labor, which in the West is subject to active erosional forces, retains all of its value, even if this value as well seems to be threatened by the forces of erosion such as indifference and alcoholism, the deep-seated ills of socialist society which, it is said, are in the process of being cured.

Nevertheless, for an Armenian from the diaspora who came on a pilgrimage to the symbolic tomb of a million and a half Armenians who were massacred during the First World War on orders given on 24 April 1915, a fellow Armenian to be sure but a foreign observer of a socialist Armenian world whose evolution seems to be beyond him, this short stay in Armenia showed two faces of this country which travel agencies, helped by the calendar, were able to pack into a 15-day trip, 24 April and 1 May, death and resurrection.

However, this accident of the calendar, which puts two important Armenian dates within one week of one another, forces us to reflect on the nature of these two commemorations: 1 May, a day joyfully celebrated by the workers of Soviet Armenia, celebrated with sincerity but whose lack of a spirit of protest in the socialist labor paradise may have stifled its deep meaning; 24 April, a non-holiday for Soviet Armenians, commemorated quietly by hundreds of thousands of Armenians in a silence which is not the silence of resignation but of a deep collective inward feeling about an event for which we ask moral and material reparations.

For the Armenian from the diaspora who was able to take part in these two big mass assemblies, the following question arises: Is not the commemoration of 24 April in Armenia the proper time to reverse the words of the well known formula: a state which is national in its form and socialist in its content: Is Armenia socialist in its form and national in its content? To a certain extent, yes; a comparison of the two events would lead one to say so. But is commemorating the genocide of 1,500,000 Armenians only the expression of a particular form of national feeling? Genocide, a crime against humanity of which the Armenian people continues to be the victim, makes a universal appeal because it refers to the ethics and traditional values of humanity.

12789/9435

CSO: 4619/49

COOPERATION IN DEVELOPMENT OF SAHARAN AGRICULTURE DISCUSSED

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 5 May 86 p 3

[Text] An important meeting held recently at the Ministry of Agriculture was attended by Kasdi Merbah, alternate member of the Politburo, minister of agriculture and fishing, Mohamed Rouighi and Belkacem Nabi, members of the Central Committee, respectively minister of hydraulics, environmental protection and forests and energy and minister of chemical and petrochemical industries.

The meeting agenda focused on the ways to strengthen mobilization of the water resources of the Saharan regions. Pursuant thereto, the ministers studied an initial (water) well drilling program for 1986 covering an area of 10,000 hectares, set aside by the government within the framework of development of the Saharan regions. The ministers then discussed another (water) well drilling program to be carried out in 1987, covering an area of 15,000 hectares.

The thrust of these programs is to ensure a better intersectoral contribution for the success of the Saharan agricultural development program. We know in fact that this development program is in large part contingent upon the mobilization of water resources. The water sector continues to be an important adjunct to the attainment of this objective, all the more so because water resources are present in these regions and must be mobilized for the implementation of (water) well drilling programs.

The energy sector could make an important contribution to the development of water resources in these regions.

In this connection, it should be noted that the national enterprise SONATRACH has important water wells at its disposition which are not being utilized in oil prospecting. However, the agricultural sector has exploited some of these wells for irrigation purposes; these well are located in Ain Zekkar and El Hadjira, in the Ouargla wilaya, and offer important yields of more than 100 liters/second. Thus, an agricultural exploitation area of 50 hectares is operational in Ain Zekkar, thanks to the utilization of this kind of (water) well drilling.

What is involved here is the utilization of the totality of easily mobilizable water capabilities for the above-mentioned purposes. There are water wells that were used for oil well drilling purposes, which should, however, be converted, in consideration of the imperatives of agricultural development in these regions. This will permit the strengthening of the water resources mobilization program established jointly by the Ministries of Hydraulics and Agriculture.

It is clear that such efforts are directed toward attainment of objectives being sought through development of Saharan agriculture. These objectives have as their target local self-sufficiency in agricultural products, a contribution to better food balance at the national level and development of fruit and vegetable crops with a view to their possible export.

In this regard, the three ministers have already discussed the contribution of the agricultural sector to the organization of supplies of local agricultural products for the Saharan regions. This involves supplying the economic units including the oil installations of these regions, particularly those of Ain Amenas, Hassi Messaoud, and Alrar, with poultry products (chicken and eggs) and with fresh vegetables. This will permit an easing of the food supply effort on behalf of these regions and will constitute a potential market stimulus for the development of Saharan agriculture. This development will also contribute to the progressive reduction of the deficit in grains caused by the population growth of our country and the consumer demand produced by it, which is characterized by an appreciable rise in the standard of living.

8143/9738
CSO: 4519/104

DISTRIBUTION, MARKETING OF FRUIT, VEGETABLES EXAMINED

Council of Ministers Session

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 8 May 86 p 3

[Excerpt] The council of ministers met yesterday under the chairmanship of Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Republic and secretary general of the FLN, at the office of the Presidency of the Republic.

After a review by the prime minister of the government activities, the council of ministers began its work by examining the current functioning of the system of distribution of agricultural production factors, pointing out the shortcomings that are affecting the development of agricultural production.

Distribution of Agricultural Production Factors: Structures of Regulation

Starting from this analysis, the council of ministers decided on a number of measures aimed at reorganizing the distribution system, based on the principles of simplification of the organization, decentralization, flexibility, specialization, and simplification of the marketing procedures.

On the national level, it agreed on establishment of light structures with the functions of regulation, storage, security and distribution of production factors to the decentralized enterprises, and organized as a function of the needs of plant and animal production.

On the local level and in extensions of the national enterprises, the establishment of specialized wilaya enterprises will make it possible to satisfy all the agricultural operation factor needs of the sectors, both public and private, and these enterprises will need to take into account the agricultural characteristics of the various zones of the country.

All these new enterprises will emerge from the reorganization of all the existing structures, and will be established in a progressive way.

Speaking during the discussion, the president of the Republic stressed that rapid implementation of the measures is decisive for achieving the objectives of development of agriculture, while paying attention to the existing correlation between this major imperative and control of the mechanism as a

whole for meeting the demand of the agricultural sector for production factors.

Also, the head of state called for making all efforts to meet a large part of this demand through national production and hence reducing imports.

Elaborating on his views, the president reminded that the development of the new distribution networks for production factors must take into account the local agricultural characteristics and limitations, while emphasizing the need to make after-sale service effective and to master the maintenance and adaptation of equipment to the agricultural production needs.

Referring to the technical support structures for agricultural production, the head of state recalled that their primary mission is to expedite the popularization of the techniques for rational use of the production factors in order to increase yields and reduce production costs.

In this connection, he stressed that dynamic operation and effective mastery of management of the new enterprises are the expected conditions for effective support for the agricultural sector, enabling it to engage in a continuing process of redynamization of agricultural resources, the only way to guarantee food security and hence strengthen the country's economic independence.

Marketing of Fruit and Vegetables: Market Flexibility and Price Control

Moving on to the next item on its agenda, the council of ministers reviewed a file on the status and prospects of marketing fruit and vegetables, and noted that the present situation is characterized by a degree of flexibility of products but also by the practice of high prices. This situation, which is as harmful to producers as to consumers, has its origin both in a continuing imbalance of supply and demand, despite the improvements achieved, and in the conditions of poor performance in operation of the current marketing system.

In light of this analysis, the council of ministers agreed on the principles and axes on which the future marketing of fruit and vegetables should be based, toward greater flexibility in the market and control of prices.

Thus, the agricultural producers, who will continue to enjoy the freedom to market their products, will be encouraged to organize into cooperatives for distribution of fruit and vegetables.

--Local enterprises will be further involved in distribution of fruit and vegetables through establishment of local distribution enterprises.

--The structuring and increase in number of wholesale markets converted to local service bodies with independent management, within which posts will be assigned to the various operators competing in collection and delivery of fruit and vegetables, in accordance with the determined procedures.

--Increase in number of retail markets in order to bring the product close to the consumer.

--Clarity in transactions and prices through establishing mechanisms guaranteeing remuneration of the farmer, the collection of his production, as well as control of the margins and prices.

--Finally, organization of information, the indispensable tool in mastering the distribution system of fruit and vegetables.

In his statement during the discussion, the president called for remedying the current fruit and vegetable market situation by multifaceted improvement measures aimed at better matching of supply and demand, adaptation of marketing networks, and development of the storage infrastructure, leading to mastery of the regulation function that falls on the state structures.

The head of state, stressing the need for a dynamic system capable of assuring both a fair remuneration of producers and distributors and protection of the purchasing power of consumers, urged rapid implementation of the measures approved in order to normalize distribution of fruit and vegetables.

Study on Produce Marketing

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 8 May 86 p 3

[Text] The analysis developed in the report prepared by an interministerial group and titled "Situation and Prospects for Marketing of Fruit and Vegetables" was produced in reference to the resolutions of the third session of the FLN Central Committee aimed at reforming the system and adapting it to current realities, and in reference to the interministerial circular (Commerce, Interior and Agriculture) of 27 April 1982 laying the first organizational foundations of the fruit and vegetable market around the idea of wholesale marketing.

The file submitted for study by the government reviews the evolution of the organization of marketing of fruit and vegetables, providing an analysis of the period from 1963 to the present, and giving special clarification of the actions carried out since 1982 as regard in particular:

--The rationale of the production and its diversification, on both the quantitative and qualitative levels;

--Production prices and consumption prices;

--Measures implemented to consolidate the gains in terms of national production and its improvement.

The principal aim of all these actions, in addition to rewarding the producer, is protecting and safeguarding the consumer's purchasing power.

Henceforth, to achieve an improvement in the current situation of fruit and vegetables marketing, it is proving necessary to establish an organizational framework based mainly on wholesale markets. In this connection, there is reason to continue, at the local and regional level, the development of these organisms, while giving them a basic statute and internal organization, giving

them management autonomy, and entrusting their operation to a body other than the ENAFLA [National Enterprise for Supply and Regulation of Fruit and Vegetables] or the COFEL's [Fruit and Vegetable Cooperative].

--The role of the public and private operators within the wholesale market will be clearly defined within this framework.

Support Actions

Nevertheless, and without waiting for the prior implementation of the actions proposed in the context of this report, the minister of commerce, in coordination with the concerned sectors, proceeded to undertake a number of actions in this area aimed at:

1. Strengthening and developing the wholesale markets, particularly those with a regional role, by strengthening their presence in the traditional crossroads of production and trade in fruit and vegetables, to the same degree in the west and center as in the east and south of the country.

2. Improving the contracted level of the relations between the production and marketing spheres.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that a month previously the contracted level achieved by the ENAFLA was about 27,000 tons, while today it has reached almost 200,000 tons, not including potatoes and seasonal onions. These two products will certainly be the target of a campaign and particular attention by the minister of commerce and minister of agriculture, with the participation of the operators concerned.

--In addition to these actions, there should be noted a clear improvement in the involvement of the public operators charged with regulation (ENAFLA-COFEL) in assuming responsibility for national production within the existing main wholesale markets.

The fact remains that the results achieved will have to be maintained by constant effort to improve them. The trade and agriculture sectors are closely cooperating to this end.

3. Developing the retail distribution network for fruit and vegetables.

It has been determined that the number of retailers engaged in this activity has been stagnant for a long time, or even in regression, in relation to the population.

In order to counter this situation, measures have been decided on aimed at:

--Restoring the El-Fellah souks. This operation, which is now underway, must receive the constant support of the local authorities for it to produce its full effects.

--Making more effective the role of the public operators (ENAFLA and COFEL) in distribution at the retail stage at the level of the major consumer centers.

For example, ENAFLA and the COFEL's have established almost 151 selling points in seven wilayas characterized by a large concentration of people.

--Developing the establishment of weekly markets of fruit and vegetables in the selected main streets of certain large urban centers.

This initiative was prepared by the Ministries of Commerce and Agriculture, and was implemented on the spot by active participation of the concerned bodies under the local authorities.

--Promoting direct sale by producers to consumers. A test operation has already been undertaken at the wilaya level, specifically in Tipaza, Boumerdes and Blida.

The encouraging results of this test operation point to its continuance and its extension to the other wilayas, this through the voluntary joining by producers and assistance of the public marketing structures.

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CSO: 4519/106

LETTER DISCUSSES CAUSES, EFFECTS, WAYS TO COMBAT SPECULATION

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 4 May 86 p 16

[Letter to the Editor by K.M. of Collo: "Taking Up the Challenge: the Cancer of Speculation"]

[Text] Following the example of my fellow citizens, I wanted to write to your newspaper to contribute by means of certain ideas or suggestions which could be used towards halting the disastrous effects of the economic crisis: speculation and fear of shortages.

The pictures broadcast by television of the lines and the scuffles which form inside and outside large stores are sad, and I would even say that they are degrading to a people which scarcely 3 decades ago gave proof of its discipline, strength of character and above all its patience and courage, all this in the most difficult years of its history.

In the 2 decades of independence, many things have changed for the better (level of education, quality of life, customs, behavior, etc.) but many have also changed for the worse (a slowly weakening public spirit, a taste for easy profits, a slackening of discipline, etc.). This means quite simply that the efforts undertaken by the state to modernize the life of man and nation have not been perceived as such by the people' that is to say, as efforts arising from a political program owing its substance to the huge sacrifices made by most of the people during the struggle for liberation; they have merely been regarded as "the state's duty," forgetting, with a simplicity verging on the ridiculous, that, while enjoying this "state duty," most citizens, to do their own fair share, should contribute their duty, viz. useful and serious work as well as discipline which could go as far as sacrifice.

What has reinforced this perception, it seems to me, is the fact that we did not fight it with the greatest firmness possible when it first surfaced about 10 or 15 years ago. Accordingly, as regards speculation, for example, what was a means of tying matters up has almost become an inherited right.

What is even more serious, this "inherited right" has been indirectly considered by our governments to such an extent that the stocking of large stores or shopkeepers is often "decided" by speculators who create tensions every time they want to.

The facts are there: the El Fellah souks, for example, are provided with a one-month supply of a given product. Next, speculators and their confederates

sweep this product up in the space of 5 to 6 days, leaving shelves bare. What happens then? Everyone (honest citizens and speculators) begins vague criticism of the state.

Given this state of affairs, the only alternative left to those who run distribution services is to resupply large stores and the vicious cycle begins again, forcing state services, bowing to citizen pressure, to import 3 or even 4 times what is really needed of a given product, 25 to 30 percent of which will go towards satisfying mostly speculators.

This fiendish mechanism weakens the state (a large amount of currency is used to purchase basic necessities but in a quantity which exceeds the population's real need, whereas this amount could be invested in technical fields or other areas which are important to the country's future and it weakens the purchasing power of the honest citizen who must pay 2 or 3 times the price of a given product from a speculator who may or may not keep business records).

The result of this, socially and politically speaking, is two very serious things where the future of our country is concerned.

- 1) The taste for easy profits, accompanied by moral distress (idleness, easy and quick illegal profiteering, as a result of which citizens have a lower estimation of the value of effort and labor; civic feeling is scorned, etc.).

- 2) The feeling that no one is around who can halt this ill, which on the one hand reinforces the spirit of speculation and makes the number of speculators increase quantitatively and qualitatively and on the other hand produces a negative effect on honest citizens by first of all throwing them into confusion and then into partial or total passivity.

So as to fight this ill (speculation) which threatens the basic objectives of our revolution (it is said that mighty oaks from tiny acorns do grow), I offer the following suggestions:

Those officials in charge of agencies and companies which distribute, for instance, basic necessities should quantify a wilaya's or a daiira's annual needs for a given product, taking into consideration the needs of all consumers and every 15 days will supply these needs via distribution channels (large stores, shopkeepers, cooperatives, etc.) in quantities proportionate to need during this period. No additional amounts will be put on the market even if what had just been distributed was "snapped up" 3 days after it was offered for sale.

This method will allow us to achieve two objectives:

- a) No matter what the situation may be, we can ensure a regularity in the distribution of basic necessities and slowly eliminate a fear of shortages.

- b) Slowly but surely, we will make the honest citizen assume his responsibility by mobilizing against speculators and rediscovering his civic pride.

In order for the above-mentioned method to achieve total efficiency, specific steps will be necessary, and among these I would suggest the following:

1) Setting up an antispeculators committee in every medium-sized city and every neighborhood in large cities comprised of

- 1 member of the APC;
- 1 member of the kasma;
- 1 security agent (police or darak);
- 1 businessman chosen for his sense of responsibility and his qualities as an honest, trustworthy man;
- 1 representative of the [word illegible] (where possible);
- 1 representative from the Businessmen's Union (where possible).

This committee would follow up on a complaint or would operate within its supervisory program.

For the antispeculators committee to make its decisions based on the best available information, a stock card will be issued to each shopkeeper bearing an indelible number and on which, for each shopkeeper, the date, the product and the quantity supplied will be recorded. This card will be the basis of the shopkeeper's stock control by the antispeculators committee. The same procedure will be carried out at the arcade and souks-el-fellah level to check whether people are selling each day what they are permitted to.

To avoid putting some shopkeepers at a disadvantage with this method, efforts should be made to supply shopkeepers in three or four adjacent areas on the same day.

I would point out that this method can be used for industrial products (cement, spare parts, etc.) because in my opinion the main point is to get out of the now prevailing situation in domestic trade.

2) So as to restrict the speculators' area, decisions must be taken

- a) to ban the sale of all products in large stores to children under 15 years old or, if absolutely necessary, to give them a very small amount of the item requested;
- b) to penalize severely street vendors who do not have any record of their sales;
- c) to limit the quantity of products to be sold by individual as well as at the level of large stores and of shopkeepers who absolutely must conduct their businesses honestly and seriously;
- d) to reduce the quantity of certain products which can be packaged, such as sugar (1/2 kg), ground coffee (150 grams), semolina (10 kg), table oil (1/2 liter), eggs (container of 10 eggs), etc.

Furthermore, I suggest the following specific measures to guard against wasting foodstuffs:

A) Semolina: import a quantity comparable to what we produce at home; this for two reasons:

- 1) it will save on currency;
- 2) it will prevent foreign semolina from competing with our own.

In any event, this should not make the directors of SN SEMPAC forget to produce better quality semolina.

B) Bread consumption in restaurants, lunch rooms, etc.: Have the price of bread no longer included on the menu. The bread basket method or just giving all the bread you can eat must disappear so each person will only eat what he needs (this method is in use in many European countries).

To limit wasting bread, on the one hand, and, on the other, to gain self-sufficiency in this product, the Algerian must be made aware of the need to save 20 to 30 grams per day. The following small calculation might just make many citizens stop and think: if you assume that 20 million Algerians eat bread and if each of them reduced his consumption by 30 grams per day we would have an annual savings of 219,000 metric tons of bread. If by so saving an Algerian eats only 220 grams per day, the resultant saving would be the equivalent of 49 and 1/2 days' consumption. That means we could decrease our imports by about 14 percent.

C) So as to avoid wasting bread and certain fresh produce items, particularly in the large cities, there must be an intensive campaign against waste on television and housewives should be shown on television how they can preserve these products by freezing them.

This simultaneous public awareness and how to campaign should be screened every night for one-quarter of an hour after or before the 8 o'clock evening news broadcast and should last a minimum of 6 months because it takes time for habits to sink in.

What I have brought up here is only a few aspects of the crisis. Achieving a genuine and final solution to this crisis calls for each of us to be constantly concerned about saving means and time (let us never forget that factor) as we pursue the fundamental objectives which our "rely on yourself" spirit objectively calls for.

In conclusion, I would say that the economic crisis is certainly harmful to our economy but the waste of all sorts of things or products and the spirit which has resulted from this for far too long is too serious for the very future of the whole nation. For wanting to consume and, what is more, to waste, without any quid pro quo (the effort and the labor which are necessary for production), would inevitably bring about first of all a social and then an economic collapse which would one day bring us to our knees before our declared or potential enemies.

All must be in a daily, permanent struggle to preserve and save the general interest (that of the state).

Each of us must realize this simple but unavoidable truth if we do not want to lose our political independence.

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CSO: 4519/105

BRIEFS

BENDJEDID TO VISIT BRAZIL--According to information obtained by AL-MAJALLAH the visit of President of Algeria Bendjedid to Brazil, which will take place this summer, will be crowned by the signing of a Brazilian arms deal for Algeria, estimated to be worth around 1.5 billion dollars. Perhaps Algeria will ask Brazil to recognize Polisario in return for this deal. It is reported that 2 weeks ago a deputy from Brazil's majority party brought this matter up in the foreign affairs committee of the Brazilian parliament. However, efforts undertaken by the Moroccan ambassador to Brazil, Mohamed Larbi Lamsari caused the shelving of the matter for the time being. Previously Ambassador Lamsari, a leader of the Istiqlal Party and former editor-in-chief of the Moroccan newspaper AL-'ALAM had organized visits of Brazilian officials to the Sahara in efforts aimed at finding out what Bendjedid's visit to Brazil might yield. [Text] [London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 21 May 86 p 8] /7358

CSO: 4504/321

EGYPTIANS WORKING ABROAD DISCUSS SITUATION

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 24-30 May 86 pp 28-30

[Article by 'Adil Jawjari: "Egyptians Abroad Between The Anvil of Emigration and The Hammer of Homeland. Work Permits Prevent Many From Returning and Housing and Investment Corporations Take Away Savings"]

[Text] Among the important economic and social dossiers that have imposed themselves on the Egyptian government in the last few months, the Egyptian labor dossier seems to be the most important. It contains statistics showing 2 million Egyptian workers and \$4 billion worth of savings and transfers through official banks, plus many times this amount in remittances through brokers, in addition to dozens of accumulated problems facing these workers inside and outside Egypt.

Despite the many tremors going through the Arab labor market following falling oil prices and the dismissal of foreign labor in droves from Arab oil-producing countries, Egyptian labor abroad remains the most important economic resource, topping the list of Egyptian national income sources, ahead of oil, the Suez Canal, and tourism.

Perhaps it was on this premise that the Egyptian political leadership was intent on removing all obstacles facing Egyptian labor abroad. Prime Minister Dr 'Ali Lutfi announced the absence of any restrictions on remittances by Egyptians working abroad through legal channels, namely, the banks, be they Egyptian or foreign.

On the other hand, William Najib Sayfayn, minister of state for emigration, told AL-TADAMUN that it has been decided to set up in each ministry a special office for Egyptians working abroad to take care of their problems by bypassing government red tape.

Nonetheless, problems are mounting, particularly following new tactics to cheat Egyptians out of their savings. Abroad, for instance, some fictitious contractors are publishing ads in Arab and Egyptian newspapers for building chalets, luxury apartments and residential high-rises on the Nile, but upon collecting money from Egyptians working abroad, it was discovered that these companies did not exist.

'Adil Sa'd Hafnawi, an employee at an Iraqi hotel, raises the problem of work permits or the public security tax whereby every Egyptian working abroad is required to pay 86 Egyptian pounds or \$15 for every year spent abroad. The government collects this amount retroactively and, therefore, workers dread the return home because they are forced to pay a large sum of money. Added to that the up to 60 percent jump in the price of airline tickets. The cost of a one-way ticket to Iraq has gone up from 160 to 200 Egyptian pounds. Husayn Fathi al-Hajj says that passport fees have gone up five times in 1 year and many workers cannot afford travel expenses which have tripled in 2 years. Moreover, a large number of them suffer from higher customs duties (up to 200 percent on electrical appliances) and from restrictions on private cars. He demands a reduction in customs duties for electrical appliances brought in by workers who spend a good part of their lives working abroad to make a living.

These electric appliances will be a source of wealth for Egypt because it will be able to dispense with imports through companies, thus saving much needed hard currency.

Engineer Muhammad Shahhatah (North Yemen) broached the question of employees on loan or leave without pay. He suggests enabling employees to continue working abroad while keeping their jobs because there is no guarantee that an Egyptian returning home will be replaced by another Egyptian, but may indeed be replaced by a southeast Asian worker. This represents a loss to both Egypt and the worker because remittances will stop, thus drying up one of the important financial resources of the national economy.

Minister of Local Government Maj Gen Hasan Abu Pasha had the following to say about this proposal:

"In order to facilitate matters for Egyptians working abroad, the government has decided to enable workers to obtain leave without pay for as many years as deemed appropriate. Workers can send leave requests to their employers by mail without having to go to Egypt."

Another important matter raised by each of Fahimah al-Nuqrashi (West Germany) and Dr Mustafa Basyuni (Saudi Arabia) is the loss of insurance benefits for self-employed Egyptians abroad.

Dr Mustafa Basyun explained this problem as follows:

"Egyptians abroad are liable to many mandatory deductions--up to ten in certain hazardous professions. When subscribers return to Egypt, these deductions, estimated at thousands of dollars per employee, are lost to the worker and, consequently, to Egypt as well."

Dr Mustafa, along with Engineer Ibrahim Adham, expressed their objections to subscription to the insurance system for Egyptians working abroad. However, their objection was not against the insurance system per se, but rather asked the social security chief to hold bilateral insurance agreements with countries that have Egyptian communities to guarantee the transfer of insurance subscriptions when subscribers return to Egypt for good.

The chief of social security, Nabil Hakam, replies as follows: "Egyptians working for international organizations in Egypt that subscribe to the insurance system have one benefit whereby every Egyptian citizen working for any international organization has the right to take advantage of social security benefits accorded to Egyptians working abroad, even if he is covered by his employer, thus combining the benefits of both systems."

As for the problem of crediting time worked abroad to the insurance system for Egyptians working abroad, namely the time the policy holder spends in different jobs subject to various insurance laws, and ways to credit it to the pension as a separate unit, the government is preparing a presidential decree in this regard, the most important article of which is that policy holders will be charged for each period spent under any of the various labor laws as a separate unit and these periods will be combined and credited to their pension.

And to solve the problem of fraudulent practices by overseas placement offices, Wajih Barshumi (Qatar) suggested the necessity of merging watchdog agencies that oversee such offices in an effort to put a stop to this phenomenon.

Khalid Tahirah, first under-secretary of labor, commented that Law No 119 of 1982 gives the Ministry of Labor sole jurisdiction over labor placement abroad, adding that the government has permitted overseas placement offices to operate under several restrictions and precepts set by the ministry. The ministry has received more than 400 applications for such offices, but has approved only 130, 3 of which have had their licenses revoked for violating ministry rules.

He emphasized that dream peddlers who trade in Egyptian labor have almost been put out of business by unmasking over 99 percent of the offices that defrauded and swindled job seekers.

Muhammad Abu Zayd (Jordan) complained on behalf of many workers abroad who obtained leave without pay from their jobs in Egypt from management's misinterpretation of the term "uncommon professions" contained in the policies committee's decision of 25 May 1984 concerning the release of leave and loans for a period of 10 years. He said that often this term is used as a pretext not to renew leave for employees as a step toward their dismissal. He gave the example of a warehouse keeper in Damietta who was fired on the pretext that his was an uncommon profession.

Some workers interviewed by AL-TADAMUN in front of an overseas placement office demanded the holding of periodic meetings between Egyptian ambassadors or diplomats in countries that host large number of Egyptian workers with these workers to keep up with their problems and to try to solve them with competent authorities in countries that take in Egyptian labor.

The most important problem to emerge recently, however, that represents Egyptian workers' worries abroad are the investment companies that have announced in the Arab press an interest rate of between 30 and 40 percent.

Egyptian newspapers one morning came out with reports that these companies were fictitious and their owners frauds and swindlers.

Dr Husni Darwish al-Wafi, deputy director of the money market authority, confirmed to AL-TADAMUN that investment companies are not subject to state control and the risk of dealing with these companies does not only lie in the potential for manipulation and fraud or even bankruptcy, but rather in the possible retirement or death of the company's founder.

He added, "perhaps the best example of that is the case investigated by the socialist prosecutor in recent months when 250 citizens, most of whom were Egyptians working abroad, brought action against owners of companies that were in the habit of getting money from citizens with the claim of investing in the Islamic way. These companies obtained a total of 1.5 million Egyptian pounds. The socialist prosecutor's office is investigating this case.

Egyptian worker Ibrahim Hubaysh (Kuwait) affirms that ads for luxury apartments in Egypt, for chalets, and for fictitious food security projects have left their negative effects on Egyptian workers wishing to invest their savings in Egypt. A case in point is an ad published in Kuwait about a modern fish farm in Egypt. After a large number of workers put money down, it was discovered that the company was fictitious and these people had to go through great pains to recover their money. Egyptian ambassador Hasan al-Kamil (head of the Egyptian interests section in Kuwait), during a meeting with Egyptian workers, warned against the flood of ads published abroad and asked Egyptian workers in Kuwait to make certain of licenses and administrative approvals before buying into any project advertised in the press or any other medium.

Although the government has set up an investment company for workers abroad, it is, nonetheless, still facing difficulties stemming from lack of Egyptians who often invest their money on an individual basis. Sayyid Fathi Ibrahim calls for serious government production projects rather than consumer ones whereby Egyptian workers abroad can feel that they are doing their share in the country's growth.

Another problem raised by a number of Egyptians returning from Libya and Iraq is epitomized in investigations undertaken by the State Security Agency "investigations," in Egypt with all Egyptian workers returning from Iraq or Libya who are asked about political matters they know nothing about.

One worker says that State Security Investigations with Egyptians are unwarranted, particularly since a worker's move to an Arab country is not a crime that merits investigation. This worker wondered whether Egyptians going to Israel undergo the same kind of interrogation.

Moreover, Hamdi 'Abd-al-'Al (working in Saudi Arabia) emphasized that the circumstances of Egyptians soon to return to Egypt after a long stay in Europe or Arab countries must be given special consideration for they are very apprehensive about the tangle of endless innumerable problems that will besiege them, be it in housing, education or public services. Therefore, we always ask officials in Egypt about plans for the droves of returning Egyptians.

He says he does not in any way deny Egyptian accomplishments in many fields, but there is still much to be done.

Dr Shihab al-Din Fu'ad, who has a doctorate degree in medicine from a Soviet university where he now works, says:

"I sent my degree and educational qualifications to the University of Cairo, asking to be hired as a professor there. However, the university forwarded my application to al-Mansurah University with the excuse that Cairo University is overstaffed. Does it make sense for me to live in Cairo and work in al-Mansurah? I turned down the offer and returned to the Soviet Union because government red tape always stands in the way."

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CSO: 4504/326

NASIRITE '23 JULY REVOLUTION' CONFERENCE DISCUSSED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 17 May 86 p 12

[Article by Yusuf al-Qa'id]

[Text] It is the Nasirist dream returning to Egypt, 34 years after the Revolution of 23 July 1953 and 16 years after the great 'Abd-al-Nasir left our world.

They are 'Abd-al-Nasir's men, returning to their July revolutionary experience, although this return had been postponed for 16 years. However, the question is: "Could it have been accomplished during the years of the Sadatist apostasy?"

Thus when Muhammad Fa'iq, 'Abd-al-Nasir's last minister of information, stood up to speak, and when Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal headed the final session, when 'Ali Sabri headed one of these sessions, when 'Aziz Sidqi, Tharwat 'Akkashah, and Mustafa al-Jabali spoke, it was for the first time since 'Abd-al-Nasir's demise that 'Abd-al-Nasir's men rose to speak at a public meeting in Egypt, the country they loved so much, or in Cairo, which had actually become in their time "Al-Qahirah" [the conqueror].

The importance and significance of this meeting is that it was held in Egypt, specifically in the city of Cairo, at a time when many people are attacking Jamāl 'Abd-al-Nasir's July revolution and his achievements, years after the unjust attacks upon 'Abd-al-Nasir and his revolution.

The final session was an open one, headed by Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal. Ahmad Baha'-al-Din, Muhammad 'Abid al-Jabiri, Khayr-al-Din Hasib, and 'Adil Husayn spoke freely.

But he who follows this meeting carefully discovers that the past was present more than the present was, and that the view of the future was dominated more by the stamp of pessimism than by optimism.

/6091

CSO: 4504/320

BRIEFS

FALASHAS REPORTEDLY TRANSIT CAIRO--The Egyptian Government has maintained complete silence up until the present time concerning an Egyptian press report published in some Egyptian party newspapers concerning the Egyptian Government's current participation in transporting a number of Ethiopian Jews from Addis Ababa to Tel Aviv, by way of Cairo International Airport. Details of the report, which was circulated by the Egyptian opposition, are that on the last Tuesday of last April, an Israeli El Al plane had left Cairo International Airport carrying more than 350 Ethiopian Falasha Jews on their way to occupied Palestine. On that same morning on the last Tuesday of April, an Ethiopian plane had arrived at Cairo International Airport under special security procedures. Aboard the plane were approximately 350 Falasha Jews who spent the day in a hotel near the airport. In the evening they headed for Israel. On the following Friday, approximately 50 people arrived and were transported to Israel in the same manner. The Egyptian opposition is bringing these matters up hoping to obtain a response from the Egyptian Government, which still prefers complete silence. [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 17 May 86 p 10] /6091

CSO: 4504/320

NEW PRIME MINISTER'S FAMILY INTERVIEWED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 21-27 May 86 p 73

[Article: "AL-MAJALLAH in the Home of Sudanese Prime Minister al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's Family: 'Politics Snatched Him From Us'"]

[Text] A picture of Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi the man, the politician, the thinker, the head of the Ummah Party, and the prime minister, is not complete without them.

Among them, one discovers that the sophisticated ruler loves charming jokes and devotes 2 hours of his time each day to reading.

With them, one sees that he builds a special, personal and open relationship with every one of his family. In spite of his complaints to his children and wives that he doesn't have enough time, Al-Sadiq, according to them, is available in their home as father and friend.

His children resemble him in their gestures and expressions. They have the characteristics of their father coupled with modesty. They have the good nature and tolerant disposition of the Sudanese people. It is characteristic of them that they courageously express their political and social ideas and opinions.

They criticize their father when necessary. Al-Sadiq consults with them about many matters pertaining to religion and the world.

For the second time, Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi has become the prime minister of the Sudan. The difference between the two periods of leadership is 20 years... and other things.

Between 1966 and 1986 are years of political and philosophical struggle...and other years of prison and exile.

Between the two dates, Al-Sadiq was sentenced to death both physically and politically, and knowledgeable Sudanese savants developed his philosophy. There grew in him a great love empowering him to carry the million square kilometers that is the area of the Sudan to any place and to any person.

On his first journey to the leadership of the Ummah Party and the Ansar sect, in his travels from one place of exile to another, and in his journey from the scope of traditional leadership to the domain of national leadership, Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi did not go alone. By his side stood his two female partners, Safiyah and Sarah, and 10 children: Umm Salma, Randah, Zaynab, Siddiq, Bushra, Maryam, 'Abd-al-Rahman, Tahirah, Rabah, and Muhammad Ahmad. When they meet in the big house in Omdurman, they form what resembles a constituent assembly to draft their opinions and dispute their differences.

Concerning his new responsibilities, his family says that this will be a difficult time for them, that politics will steal their father and husband from them for the time being. But they look to the Sudan's future with clear satisfaction. They do this because this brown-skinned man with a curly beard and intelligent smile, who prefers to meet his visitors, no matter how high their position, in the Sudanese "quttiyah" (straw hut) in the garden of his home, this man who is their father and prime minister of their nation, has the power to save the Sudan.

Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's position means that many are the Sudanese people who are betting on his ability. Al-Sadiq has also bet on himself. But he will not be alone. By his side are his two female partners and his 10 children...or rather, 11, because June is the date for the appearance of his 11th child.

/6091

CSO: 4504/332

RECENT HISTORY OF ISLAMIC ACTION REVIEWED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 17-23 May 86 pp 62, 63

/Article by Rashid Khashanah: "The Fundamentalists in Tunisia Have Given Up Struggling with the Left in order To Fight the Government"/

/Text/ The history of religious movements in Tunisia goes back to the seventies, specifically to 1970, the date of the establishment of the monthly Islamic magazine AL-MA'RIFAH, around which most of the prominent religious figures who refused to act within the government system revolved. Facing the AL-MA'RIFAH current there was another center, revolving about the magazine JAWHAR AL-ISLAM, which directed its activity toward the attempt at change from within the system. Cheikh Mohamed Habib El Messaoui, who held on to membership in the central committee of the ruling Destourian Party for years, headed this current.

At the beginning, AL-MA'RIFAH brought together a number of religious elements opposed to the government's secular policy. These elements were clerics and professors at the al-Zaytunah University, the al-AZHAR of Tunisia, who had lost their social and educational status when teaching was suspended at the al-Zaytunah Mosque in the wake of the establishment of the modern University of Tunisia at the beginning of the sixties and a new faculty emerged for "Islamic Law and the principles of religion" removed from the sanctuary of the great mosque. However, this change was not the only cause for the emergence of a religious opposition, since the elimination of traditional education and the halt to instruction at al-Zaytunah took place in conjunction with a series of measures which caused a reduction in the religious institution's status and gave many of its powers to civil institutions in the modern pattern. It is necessary to mention three basic transformations which laid the foundations for this shift to modernization in the period from 1956 to 1960. These were:

The elimination of the courts of Islamic law and the transfer of all their powers to the religious courts.

The elimination of religious trusts and abolition of the religious trust system in a radical, final form.

The issuance of the magazine on personal status, which prohibited polygamy, codified civil marriage and gave women many rights which made them equal to men, except where Koranic stipulations were manifest, for instance the question of inheritance. These legal and social transformations, which shook the traditional fabric of the city and countryside alike, as well as ending the system of religious education and establishing compulsory, free education in modern schools, were all fertile elements for the emergence of a severe religious opposition of the magnitude of the radical rapid changes the society had witnessed. Therefore, the first reaction occurred violently in the form of a broad, bloody uprising led by the religious figures in the city of Kairouan, the fortress of Islam in North Africa, headed by the imam of the great mosque, Abderrahman Khelif, who later became one of the most prominent moderate symbols of the religious current.

The tragic conclusion of the Kairouan events in 1960 and the arrest of everyone who participated in them were in effect the lowering of the curtain over religious opposition to the Atatürkist modernization policy, since this opposition no longer dared raise its voice and flaunt its enmity to the secular options, and on top of that it lacked a party system which would guarantee it a continuity of existence and "underground" work. Perhaps this phenomenon is one of the particular features of the scene of the sixties in Tunisia. There was no politico-religious organization along the lines of the movement of the Moslem Brothers in Egypt and the Eastern Arab religious currents did not succeed in planting local branches for themselves in Tunisia, contrary to the development in the eighties. The genesis of this phenomenon might be that religious thinking was, traditionally, part of the thinking of nationalist parties in the first half of this century and did not constitute a distinctive political force within the national movement.

Owing to the concurrence of all these various factors, religious sermons in the seventies stayed away from direct political concerns after the appearance of AL-MA'RIFAH and were confined to presenting issues of moral degeneracy, criticizing intermixing and demanding the strengthening of religious courses in the religious programs stipulated for secondary students as a possible way to inflame feeble religious motivation. Therefore, the historic scene, or the scene prior to the genesis the early signs of the seventies represented, could be considered that of "commendation of the praiseworthy and prohibition of the repugnant," since in this period the bulk of the forces of the religious movement was thrust into the legal "Society for the preservation of the Holy Koran," as a brief struggle occurred between the traditional sheikhs and the symbols of the rising religious current which was soon resolved in favor of the latter segment. The tightening of the grip about this society resulted in the opening of the mosques' doors to "proponents" of the religious political movement and sermons were transformed into political speeches in opposition to the existing social system, critical of its values of morality and civilization in the context of an absolute, wholesale rejection of Western civilization and its philosophies and values. This rejection occurred in conjunction with the entry of important numbers of educated young people, essentially secondary school teachers, into the religious movement and their

enrollment in the AL-MA'RIFAH family. Among them were Rached Ghannouchi and H'mida Neifer, who had returned to Tunisia from lengthy study in Egypt and Syria, after which they had passed on to Paris for a brief period.

By virtue of a well-known natural law, young people bearing a clear mission of ideology and civilization advanced to decision making positions. AL-MA'RIFAH magazine although the old figures such as Abdelkader Slama, the director of the magazine, who held on to his position, were not removed.

This period was distinguished by the exertion of great intellectual and media efforts to publicize the leading figures of the fundamentalist religious currents such as Abu al-Al-A'la al-Mawdudi, Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Malek Bennabi and others in the context of the appeal for the construction of an Islamic society in accordance with the model the "good forebears" had set out for the era of the upright caliphs. However, the essence of the Islamic society it was intended to resurrect was not clear in features; rather, it was an amorphous, tentative idea which differed from one person to another within the religious current in Tunisia. The political and social situation in the second half of the seventies did not allow for a pause to contemplate a broad grouping which would in effect be a tent under whose shelter all the people belonging to the religious current would be joined--the grouping of "a return to the society of the good forebears." Therefore, the major social transformations which Tunisia experienced in this period and the General Federation of Workers' Unions' rise to prominence as an axis combining all vigorous forces made it mandatory that the symbols of the religious current be preoccupied with political affairs. However, the formula for this "preoccupation" confused the leading figures of AL-MA'RIFAH and caused a rift in their unity, and the underpinnings of the shelter of unity began to be shaken under the effect of the winds of social and political change which raged over the society (the beginning of criticism of the political system, the emergence of an opposition press speaking in the name of the Federation of Workers and the increasing social weight of the unions). These transformations dictated that the symbols of the religious movement ride the wave of social and political struggle, especially since the movement of the left, the most important competitor of the religious movement, had joined in the ranks of the democratic union upsurge and had paid the price of that in arrests, acts of persecution and trials during the sixties and in particular the seventies. Some observers advance an analysis whose gist is that the emergence to prominence of Marxist left movements, which engaged in democratic struggles against the regime over the past 2 decades and undertook national-political action domestically and in exile alongside Arab nationalist movements, compelled the power centers within the ruling Destourian Party, especially the former management of the party, to give concrete form to a plan to strike at the left by means of the religious movement. The people holding this view say that contacts were made between the two parties in carrying this plan out. In confirmation of this analysis, Abdelfattah Mourou, secretary general of the Islamic Tendency Movement, stated at the 1981 trial that he had previously met with a major official in the Destourian Party in 1975 and that the common goal which manifested itself through this meeting was agreement to fight the

Communists. Indeed, relations between the religious movement and the regime's agencies were characterized by warmth and harmony from the early part of the seventies to autumn 1979. One manifestation of this "familiarity" was that the movements of the symbols of the religious current and their lessons in the mosques were surrounded by silent attention and the Society for the Preservation of the Holy Koran, the agency for their open activity, enjoyed every facility and aid, while the war with the left was at its most intense. The struggle in the auditoriums of the faculties shifted from one between left-wing students and the security agencies to one between students of the religious current and the leftists. The Islamic movement's press, in particular AL-MA'RIFAH, also allocated most of its articles to fighting "atheistic currents and Communist creeds."

This open war with the leftwing movement did not cause the symbols of the religious current to forget domestic affairs, and questions started to be implanted and grow on the surface of the Islamic tide until two major currents assumed concrete form within this wave which held each other in contempt in the second half of the seventies. The first was connected to the theoretical work of Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi and Baqir al-Sadr and raised the slogan of fighting "Communist crusaderism" as well as other slogans, such as "An orientation to neither the East nor the West, we want it Islamic," and "No to the defeated symbols of culture," Taha Husayn, Muhammad 'Abduh and Ataturk. Concerning the second current, a document issued in the latter part of 1985 titled "An interpretation based on the Actual State of Islamic Action" declared it had "started to search the social dimension of Islam and directed its instruments toward criticizing the thinking of the Moslem Brothers and their plan, as a major approach toward overthrowing the vision of the individual and society and spreading wholesale doubts about the movement's legacy of sources." The document went on to describe the circumstances of crystallization of this current, stating that with the occurrence of the jolt of 26 January 1978, the arrival of the first repercussion of the Iranian revolution and the issuance of the first numbers of the magazine AL-MU'ASIR, questions developed and the disputes with the school of the Brothers matured in relative form. The organizations which were dominant in the institutional agencies of the society had failed to assimilate the developments and transformations or implant a serious dialogue domestically or by means of the magazine AL-MA'RIFAH, the organization's media instrument, which led to a collective withdrawal from the movement and the establishment of an independent movement which subsequently became known as the group of "Islamic progressivists." However, the original body was not able to restore the theoretical and organizational stability which the movement organization had taken the effort upon itself to achieve in the wake of the schismatic process because objective factors began gradually to impose themselves and the questions of elements on the inside began to increase and spread. These objective elements of which the document spoke were political and social fluctuations in the twilight of the seventies which compelled the leadership of the religious movement to enroll in direct political action. It issued the weekly political magazine AL-MUJTAMA', which was suspended after several issues of it had appeared, and turned exhortatory sermons in the mosques into political speeches criticizing the regime and demanding the establishment of an Islamic state. With the start of the eighties and the beginning of talk about open

pluralism in Tunisia, the religious movement started to prepare itself to burst upon the stage of open political action and discussions within it led to the agreement to found a political party bearing the name of the Islamic Tendency Movement, then the announcement of the names of its leaders in June 1981. Among them were the chairman of the movement, Rached Ghannouchi, and its secretary general, Abdelfattah Mourou.

The symbols of the other current, the Islamic Progressives, which was headed by the editor in chief of AL-MA'RIFAH, H'mida Neifer, began to be in harmony with the Islamic Group in 1978, presenting a rationalist orientation regarding Islamic thinking, criticizing the framework of learning and sources of the forebears' movement and harboring reservations about the increasing Iranian presence within the local Islamic arena. However, the Monastir group also rebuked the other current for its headlong rush toward political action before resolution of the theoretical complications which Islamic action posed, the creation of a sound awareness of all challenges and their inter-linkage in a programmed manner. However, this wing stayed in the minority and was incapable of changing the equations within the Islamic stage, especially in the period of the religious tide which reached its peak in 1981. Some parties of this wing retained organic connections within the other organizational body, while some other parties, such as Neifer, were intellectually and organizationally independent and strove to assert this independence by applying for a permit to issue an Islamic intellectual magazine in 1981. Indeed they obtained this right the following year, and the magazine 15-21 (a reference to the Islamic and Christian centuries) started to appear as of that date under the slogan "a magazine of futurist Islamic thinking" under H'mida Neifer's management. The odd thing is that a Gulf weekly magazine issued by a hard-line group "ruled" that the magazine 15-21 is "communist and veiled by Islam," though it generously opened its pages to the Islamic Tendency Movement's symbols.

From this picture, it is clear that the religious current in 1981 was split up into two major wings, one concentrating on intellectual consideration and the second concentrating on political and organizational action. This led to the strengthening of the influence of the second current, political studies in the mosques were intensified, the phenomenon of growing beards and the appeal to women to wear veils spread, and the regime started to draw conclusions from the increase in the religious tide and launched a broad campaign of arrests which struck at all leaders and personnel of the Islamic Tendency Movement and some personnel in the Islamic Progressives in the summer of 1981, with their transfer to court. Harsh verdicts were handed down on them which came to 10 or 11 years in prison.

From summer 1981 to summer 1984, the date of the release of the leadership of the Islamic Tendency by presidential pardon, the fundamentalist religious movement experienced an obvious contraction, while other currents came to prominence which were active underground or worked in silence, including the Islamic Liberation Party, which started to be active in Tunisia in 1978 after an air force officer returned from a training period in Greece and started to present the principles of the party, which had been established in Jordan in

1952 in the ranks of civilian and military personnel. The contacts of the party, whose activity had been restricted to the study of the books of the Jordanian Taqi-al-Din al-Nabahani, were discovered in 1983 and all its personnel were taken to trial. A new group which tried to rebuild the Tunisian branch of the party was then arrested in 1985.

Nothing is known about the intellectual premises of the Chosen Party of God, whose branch was revealed last March, with the number of arrested persons coming to about 20, except that it is loyal to Iran.

The Notification Group, whose mission is confined to the areas of religious and moral guidance and orientation, is concerned not to be active with regard to politics.

The Repudiation and Atonement Movement, whose presence is weak, has started to appear recently in some common sections in the capital.

Some Islamic Independents, who represent the phenomenon of the grouping of people who are in harmony with the Islamic Tendency Movement, following the period of arrest, have started to cooperate with the Islamic Progressives.

11887

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LABOR LEADER CRITICIZES GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATING ATTITUDES

Tunis HAQA'IQ in Arabic 2 May 86 pp 9-12

[Interview with Labor Leader Taieb Baccouche: "On the Sidelines of the Conference of 'Honorable Men' and Initiatives toward 'Labor Unity:' Taieb Baccouche States: A Pro Forma Conference Will Not Solve the Union Problem or Bring about a Legitimate Order"]

[Text] HAQA'IQ: What characterizes the current union situation? Has the stage gone beyond the 4 December agreement?

Taieb Baccouche: What characterizes the current union situation is that it has succumbed to a dilemma as a result of the failure of the negotiations which occurred in conjunction with the exacerbation of the dispute between the General Federation and the government more than 2 years ago and the government's adoption of a successive group of measures which led to the striking out at and paralysis of union action. In spite of that, the executive bureau reached an agreement with the government on 4 December 1985 which remained mere ink on paper because the political will did not exist to apply it, although it was primarily in the interests of the government. The government then considered it appropriate to replace it with an appeal from above for union unity, although the objective circumstances did not exist for the realization of true unity on sound bases. Thus the authorities have embarked on thinking which in practice goes beyond this agreement.

As for the rift you refer to in the question, I personally do not see any irrevocable rift in general political or social relations, because a person who is mistaken in evaluation might continue to be mistaken for a while and time might guarantee that his eyes are opened to his errors and that he can review them, even if events seem to have outstripped them and created a situation which in practice seems like a final rift. This may be one of the factors which have prompted some officials in power to continue the dialogue with the legitimate executive bureau, in addition to other political and tactical elements of course, since some periods are close at hand. The failure to break off the dialogue is not wholly without positive considerations, in spite of the superficial nature of the results — provided that it be put in the proper place.

HAQA'IQ: Some parties criticize you for failing to attend the two executive bureau meetings with the party director. How do you respond to that?

Taieb Baccouche: The situation requires some simple explanations:

These two meetings took place between the majority of the members of the executive bureau in the headquarters of the Destourian Socialist Party and the party director the party's political bureau had assigned to hold them, while all the previous negotiations with the government, before and after the 4 December 1985 agreement, took place through the minister of labor or sometimes a government delegation. This negotiating context (federation-government) is the natural one, because the government since the beginning has been a direct party in the current crisis, and the change in the framework of negotiation to the new format (federation-party) is not lacking in contradiction and in risk to the federation and the party, because it transforms the dispute from one between the federation and the government to one between the federation and the party, and there is no justification for this, considering the difference between political action and union action. It arises only when the relationship with the government enters a crisis as a result of an ongoing confusion between the ruling party and the government institutions.

Therefore, I do not accept the thinking of people who say that there is no difference between the government and the party. That confusion is a perverse situation and a sign of backwardness which does not objectively serve the institutions of the government and harms the reputation of the party. To that end, the democratic forces, including some Destourian circles, have tirelessly called for a differentiation between the institutions of the government and the ruling or opposition parties, and have made the appeal that this confusion is a sanctification of the confusion and a contradiction with the principles I have mentioned.

HAQA'IQ: There are people who say that there is political significance in your absence. Do you endorse this view?

Taieb Baccouche: If political significance means the objective considerations of principle which you have mentioned, that is so. However, if it means the personal, subjective considerations some people have described as a position of enmity toward the party, going by what has been conveyed to me, I am sorry about the absurdity and shortsightedness of these judgments, because I do not hesitate to say that I have no complex regarding the Destourian Socialist Party, which I truly assess on the basis of its true volume and weight and its role in the country in the past and present most abstractly and with full objectivity, that is, without belittling positive features or ignoring negative ones, whether it continues to rule or goes into opposition, as happens in democratic countries founded on political pluralism. However, putting the government institutions first, above all parties, makes me reject the confusion and the sanctification of backwardness.

HAQA'IQ: There are people who consider you an obstacle in the way of chances for finding a solution to the union crisis through the trilateral committee formula.

Taieb Baccouche: This judgment is founded on strange thinking. No one who seriously seeks a just, realistic solution founded on firm bases by the medium of dialogue and responsible negotiation will impose a readymade solution in advance, and I am amazed that the solution has been restricted to the trilateral committee formula. Is the committee a goal in itself or is it an instrument for achieving the desired solution? I do not believe that an intelligent person would consider the committee a goal in itself, and therefore in my opinion, before embarking on the committee or committees, it is inevitable that goals be determined and that one set out from the premise of the causes for the failure of earlier solutions. Public opinion does not know why the 4 December 1985 agreement has not been applied and what its deficiencies are, although, in spite of its deficiencies, its distinctive feature is that it includes all parties to the issue and has not neglected the headquarters of the federation, prisoners and dismissed persons and the reconstitution of employment organizations and files.

Today, however, we ignore all that, talk only about the committee and forget that the new focal point of the issue is the president's appeal for union unity, which can take concrete form only by the serious effort to provide the objective circumstances for making it a success, which are not to haggle and apportion positions, seats and departments but to get all workers to participate in the conciliation and unification process by lawful, democratic means, so that the union organization will be representative and responsible.

Solving the current crisis on this basis, in order to realize these goals, requires that all aspects of the case be negotiated in the context of a comprehensive solution, not isolated points which will thus lose all significance.

The release of all union prisoners, including the secretary general, and the return of people who were arbitrarily dismissed to their jobs is one basic element in the success of any solution which we want to be democratic and just.

My position is not one of obstruction but a serious search for an honorable solution in which all guarantees for the success and continuity of that which will involve good for the country will be present.

HAQA'IQ: Do you consider yourself an extremist, as some circles allege?

Taieb Baccouche: Extremism is relative, but in general it is not compatible with my nature and procedures since I assumed union responsibilities in the union of higher education and scientific research and the administrative board of the General Federation about 15 years ago. I have observed through experience that most extremists move from opposite to opposite with the passage of time, while the moderates' solution is more fixed on principles. Therefore I do not consider myself an extremist, I never was one at all, and never will be one.

As for the people who today give me the description of extremism, that is for the purpose of distortion or out of shortsightedness and the neglect of many objective facts.

HAQA'IQ: Isn't Taieb Baccouche now isolated in the union framework, in the executive bureau?

Taieb Baccouche: Isolation is also relative, although I have not at all felt that I have been isolated, and on top of that, if that had been the case, it would not have confused me. Union activity, in my view, is not an occupation people deal in until retirement or even death but consists of volunteering in service of the group free of charge, as long as one enjoys the confidence of the people who elected him. If union activity becomes a source of livelihood and the satisfaction of personal interests, that cannot safeguard a minimum of principles, morality and dignity.

In addition to that, the federation is not just an executive bureau; rather, it consists of decisionmaking organizations and hundreds of personnel who have their decisive say on the affairs of the organization, especially the crucial decisions.

HAQA'IQ: What is your opinion about the holding of the present conference under the supervision of "honorable men?"

Taieb Baccouche: Holding a pro forma exceptional conference under these circumstances is to be considered a dishonorable culmination of the process of fragmenting the federation's headquarters by force and appointing pro forma organizations in an illegitimate manner, against the will of the overwhelming majority of workers who totally boycotted the appointments; it is to be considered a sanctification of the platform of rigidity and devotion to error. Therefore I believe that it will not solve the union problem but will make it more opaque and complex and will further drive union members and workers to despair and loss of confidence in organized union action.

HAQA'IQ: Do you believe that it will bring about "reform of the unions' course?"

Taieb Baccouche: It is unfortunate that some words lose their meaning through misuse. I believe that real reform is possible only through implantation of the spirit of democracy and proper training in the context of legitimacy and the law. People who did not pursue the course of reform while they were in legitimate organizations cannot reform anything while they are in pro forma ones.

The process of reform is a lengthy one which passes through changes in mentality and the setting of examples regarding personal conduct. If it is just a slogan for consumption and gross error in which statements contradict actions, it will add to the confusion of methods and the corruption of conditions.

HAQA'IQ: Do you take into consideration the element of surprise in current Tunisian political activity?

Taieb Baccouche: Of course! All possibilities are pertinent. Therefore, it is necessary to be cautious, engage in mutual consultation and not cut oneself off from the union personnel, lest the executive bureau become a head without a body.

HAQA'IQ: We have not observed tangible union activity to contain the bad circumstances of the unions. What is the secret behind this situation?

Taieb Baccouche: Some parties have become accustomed to considering union reactions only in the form of strikes; these are a form of union struggle which might be harmful if misused. I previously analyzed this notion on the pages of this magazine specifically some time ago. I consider the boycott of appointments and the refusal to deal with the mentality of force and abuse of the law to be a positive sign which bespeaks awareness and a high spirit of responsibility, especially in circumstances of growing economic crisis. It is in effect a red light which the Japanese used before resorting to strikes. However, the feasibility of this civilized method requires an intelligent party in confrontation with the signal which will understand, if only with some slowness.

HAQA'IQ: Have the tactics of passive resistance produced results favorable to the union?

Taieb Baccouche: I believe that the most important result has been the acquisition of a conviction on the part of a number of officials in power who take a long range view and understand that the assiduous pursuit of error is not without risks to the country, that the current situation does not represent a satisfactory solution and that it is necessary to exert other efforts with the objective of arriving at sounder solutions. This awareness in itself is positive if it leads to positive results in time, before it is too late, so that the tragedies other organizations in the country have experienced will not be repeated. Where is the Tunisia General Federation of Students? What have Tunisia or the authorities gained by killing this organization, when it could have represented a school for the pursuit of democracy and a spirit of tolerance which could politically and socially have trained young people who were avid to serve their country in a free, responsible manner? The commission of the same mistake with respect to the union movement will have grievous consequences for the future of Tunisia and the future of democracy and progress in it.

HAQA'IQ: Is there a struggle for legitimacy among the three union parties?

Taieb Baccouche: I do not consider that raising the issue in this form is proper. The National Federation is a legal organization which is independent of the General Federation, whatever the circumstances of its emergence and difference in positions on it might be. The struggle between it and the General Federation, if one exists, is not over legitimacy but over representation and acquiring the confidence of the majority of the workers.

As for the people who are called a national coordinating committee, they constitute two classes. There is one class which does not meet the legal conditions for bearing responsibility, and the conference will not win these people any legitimacy, because legitimacy is acquired by gradually rising in electoral responsibilities in accordance with the laws of the organization, not by assignment and appointment from above.

One class exists which has its legitimacy and its status in the organizations it belongs to, the scope is open for it to rise to assume all

responsibilities, also in accordance with the laws of the organization, and it can influence the organization's orientations and decisions by democratic means and responsible positions, not by hypocrisy and shifting in accordance with the direction of the wind. Let the people who are now contesting the legitimacy of the executive bureau of the General Federation which arose from the recent 16th conference, whatever the relative defects of this conference might have been, state what they have done to remedy the deficiencies in the meantime, because people's positions are well known and recorded and it is not possible to deceive people unless they are heedless and ignorant of the inner facts of things.

HAQA'IQ: What is the scope of the future of union action in Tunisia?

Taieb Baccouche: I cannot foretell the unknown. All possibilities are pertinent, but I am confident that it is not possible to turn back the wheel of time, no matter what the ineptitudes and trials might be, and there is no doubt that the union movement today is passing through a serious new ordeal of collapse and that getting out of that in a positive manner will not advance the union movement unless the union people know how to benefit from experiences and trials and are at least frank with themselves about their mistakes, whether these are mistakes of conduct and practice or mistakes of conception or the assessment of matters, events, facts and the actual situation.

I personally believe that the union movement today is lacking a clear strategy which will define its goals, methods of organization, work systems, position in the country and objective relations with the other organizations and influential forces in the national framework. That requires an appraisal and review of many facts and conceptions and the opening of a frank dialogue among all union people and people concerned with the affairs of the union movement, so that the delineation of this new strategy which will enable union activity to take off with firm steps toward progress and civilized construction may be realized.

However, if it is given the power to do that in a climate of crisis, that will in practice yield fruit only by leaving the union people with their various touchy feelings to solve their problems by legal, democratic means without direct intervention from any foreign party, so that the workers' organization will not become an appendage of any authority or party, in power or in opposition, while it is granted the independence which will enable the organization actually to assume its national responsibilities on behalf of progress and social justice.

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INVESTIGATION UNMASKS PRISON BRIBERY SCANDAL

Tunis AL-ANWAR AL-TUNISIYAH in Arabic 4 May 86 p 24

[Article by Slim Gharbi: "A Prison Director and 54 Guards and Prisoners Implicated in a Bribery Case"]

[Text] Investigations and inquiries regarding a bribery case in which 54 persons were involved have ended, and the court, under the chairmanship of Judge Hedi Benzerti, will start to try them soon. What is noteworthy in this case is not the number of defendants or the nature of the charge directed against them, but that there are a number of citizens among them whom society has assigned to watch over the execution of verdicts of justice, so that each criminal may be given punishment for what he has done, being, for instance, deprived of his civil rights, especially the right to move about with complete freedom among honest, innocent citizens.

If the verdict of imprisonment is not carried out, or if the prisoner is unrightfully empowered to enjoy the opportunity to breathe the pure air of freedom, the difference between criminal and victim is negated, and this is what is not satisfactory to the law and society.

Implicated in the case at hand were a number of prisoners, some of whose guards saw fit to release them from time to time, violating all the efforts the members of the judiciary had made to investigate and study files before issuing the proper sentences regarding these criminals and forgetting the tribulations the security men had gone through, prior to that, to seek out those people who had brought harm on innocent citizens and consequently society.

Rape

Since God takes his time but is not negligent, it was his wish that a case of rape in which a prisoner had become involved outside the prison be discovered, investigations be launched and the defendant's activity be exposed. How, though, did "the case" begin? What are the various stages of the case?

The inquiry states that an Italian woman submitted a complaint against an unknown person who deliberately seduced her by threats, raped her, stole her money and escaped.

However, the assistants in the anti-crime unit who had been given the assignment of investigating the case discovered that the person committing the act of aggression was a prisoner and was supposed to have been behind bars as a result of a sentence handed down against him, by virtue of which he was to have been put in the al-Rabitah prison in the capital.

When he was interrogated, MF confessed that he had committed a violation against the woman and related everything. Thus the threads of the bribery case started to become known, until a massive file was drawn up in its regard containing the names of 55 defendants!

A Rumor in Prison

MF related that when he was moved to the al-Rabitah prison he heard a rumor to the effect that prisoners could go out in exchange for a sum of money paid to some guards of enclosures they were assigned to work in outside prison, provided they came back before returning to prison!

Like the rest of his "colleagues," he paid the sum and the enclosure guard allowed him to leave the place. After that, his "adventure" with the Italian woman took place, and he returned to prison!

What, however, is the truth of this rumor related to the bribing of the guard?

The investigation points out that in the period between November 1984 and February 1985, a rumor spread among the prisoners quartered in the al-Rabitah prison whose gist was that it was possible to leave the prison's work enclosures at any time to carry out any personal aims, such as going about or visiting a family, on condition of payment of financial compensation to some guards supervising these enclosures. The rumor asserted that the guards shared these "incomes" with the manager of the al-Rabitah prison himself!

"A Welcome"

In the light of the investigation, it became apparent that 40 prisoners believed what they had heard and proceeded to engage in it by sounding out about 14 guards who had been assigned to supervise a number of prison enclosures. When they met with "acceptance and a welcome" on their part, they then handed sums of money over to them ranging from 3 to 5 dinars in the case of the guards (for every day of release) and 20 to 50 dinars in the case of the former director of al-Rabitah prison.

It was also apparent that "various gifts" in the form of food, alcoholic beverages and cigarettes were handed over in exchange for "good treatment" and assignment of the prisoners to enclosures close to their residences, so that they could visit their families or carry out personal business, then return at the specified time.

A Celebration!

The investigation revealed that the prisoners also enjoyed visits by their friends or relatives in the enclosures and received them so that they could

stay up late together in their prison cells, and that the inmates in one of the cells managed to "celebrate" the Christian new year (rural dwellers) as if they were outside the prison, staying up late and drinking heavily!

We have learned that the investigation and inquiries regarding this case have ended, and that the Justice [Department] will review them soon, in order to state its decisive word regarding these prisoners and people who were assigned to carry out the sentences of justice, while undermining the efforts of the judges and security personnel under the incentive of greed!

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CSO: 4504/313

'RARE' BUNDESTAG ACT AIMED AT HEALING STRAINS

TA260815 Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 26 May 86 p 3

[Report by Wladimir Struminski]

[Text] Last week the West German Bundestag performed an extraordinarily rare act: its president and all four of his deputies went on a joint trip to Israel. It was only the second time ever that the complete leadership of the Bonn parliament travelled abroad together since its establishment in 1949. The only other time was a visit to neighbouring Austria in the 1970s.

Officially, the legislators had come at the invitation of former Knesset Speaker Menahem Savidor, who had visited Germany in 1981. In reality, however, this week's visit was more than just a routine call on old friends. The decision to send a delegation at the highest possible level was taken by the Germans on their own initiative.

A senior German source made it clear that this step was designed to make up for the strains in the German-Israeli relations that began when then prime minister Menachem Begin clashed with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, on Kohl's visit to Israel in January 1984. The anti-Jewish remarks of late by some members of Kohl's party did not help matters either.

In spite of the recent discords and a round of meetings with such figures as President Herzog, Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hillel, Prime Minister Peres and Vice Premier Shamir, the media treated the visit as virtually a non-event. It certainly aroused few emotions.

The public's reception aroused a certain amount of disappointment in the German delegation. "We are getting boring," said one member of the delegation, adding with just a touch of irony: "But this is a good thing."

One reason the low-key reception could be interpreted in a positive light was that it indicated how close and frequent Israeli-German contacts have become. It makes it difficult for any single event to garner much interest.

All four vice presidents of the Bundestag are members of the German-Israeli Parliamentary Group. Bundestag President Philipp Jenninger was a member for

10 years, although today his top post bars him from continuing to be. The Christian-Socialist Vice President Richard Stuecklen is a founding member of the group, while the Social Democrat Annemarie Renger is its chairwoman. The other Social Democratic vice president, Heinz Westphal, is an old friend of Israel, too, with the Liberal Julius Cronenberg completing the picture.

While these close contacts with Israel made the Germans' visit less than a media event, on a political level they have helped Israel enlist Bonn's support for Jerusalem in international forums. This was evidenced in last week's visit, when the Germans promised to raise the issue of Soviet Jewry with Soviet representatives at this week's session of the Interparliamentary Union in Bonn.

In addition, Jenninger announced that the delegation would support the idea of assigning an attache for youth affairs at the German Embassy in Tel Aviv to step up meetings of young people between the two countries. This, to be sure, was footwork rather than spectacular results. But for Israel, the youth exchange with Germany is an important means of presenting its point of view to the young generation of Germans.

The guests were rather noncommittal with regard to Peres's "Marshall Plan" for economic development in the Middle East, welcoming it in principle rather than operational terms.

/6662

CSO: 4400/185

DAN SHOMRON, DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF, PROFILED

Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 2 May 86 pp 25-27

[Article by Hayim Reviya: "And Now, for the Finish"]

[Text] In the past few years Dan Shomron has not concealed his hope to become chief-of-staff. He never said so in so many words, just like other senior officers have not, but when asked about it, he always manages to find the right formulations. In 1980 he told Ze'ev Schiff of HA'ARETZ: "I read that all the generals are candidates. I am one of them." Two weeks ago, on "Moqed" [television program], his statements were less determined. Perhaps experience and the proximity to the job have taught Shomron greater caution.

A detailed analysis of his chances to become the 13th chief-of-staff will probably not result in an unequivocal pronouncement, but there is no doubt that his chances are good, perhaps better than everyone else's. Shomron is the senior among the general staff. He has already seriously contended for the position once, and at the next contest he will compete against generals who will be doing it for the first time. Since January 1985 he has been occupying the seat from which two of his predecessors climbed to the top. Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin appointed him deputy chief-of-staff, thus fulfilling the promise made by his predecessor, Moshe Arens; Yitzhaq Rabin is not the man to seek revolutions in the matter of appointments. It is said that Amir Drori's chances are not too good, and that the main contest will be between Shomron and Ori 'Or. However, to date 'Or has not held any general staff position, and the more time passes, the less chances of his ever doing so. Thus, time is on Shomron's side. His supporters add that Rabin would not have entrusted him with the drafting of the IDF's several-year plan if he had not intended to appoint him chief-of-staff. Moreover, Shomron enjoys extensive political support: Peres will support him because, at least according to a simplistic assumption, Shomron commanded over the Entebbe rescue mission while he was defense minister. Sharon wanted to see him as chief-of-staff already at the previous round. Arens, too, Shamir's close associate, values him. Not only did Shomron comply with his request and stayed in the IDF despite the fact that he was passed over for chief-of-staff in 1981, but he also accepted a difficult and thankless job: the establishment of a field armies command. This command was Arens's pet idea and perhaps the only significant mark he managed to leave on the IDF. But Shomron, born in 1937, will be 50 years old by the time Moshe Levy vacates the chief-of-staff office, which is relatively old.

According to one view prevailing in the IDF, he and Amir Drori can indeed make good chiefs-of-staff, but a far-reaching concept of building up the senior command will make it necessary to pass them over and to skip to the generation of Ehud Barak, Amnon Lipkin, and perhaps Ori 'Or, too. Barak will be 45 by the end of Moshe Levy's office, and 'Or 47. Both are more experienced and have been generals for a longer time than Levy, Shomron, and Yanosh Ben-Gal had been in 1983 when they were waiting for the choice to be made. Shomron's appointment as chief-of-staff will remove the position farther away from the generation of Amram Mitzne'a, the deputy chief of operations, and from those who are waiting to be promoted to the rank of general on the next round, in at least 8 years time. It will create a bottleneck close to the top of the IDF pyramid, and there is no certainty that 'Or and Barak will chose to wait until the next election in 1991. That is a problem.

On Shomron's side we can perhaps count the fact that defense ministers always chose the easy way out in the matter of appointing a chief-of-staff.

As we said, the "Moqed" interviewers failed to make him come out with any binding statement concerning the chief-of-staff position, but they heard that the number two man in the IDF thinks that the military apparatus needs a good jolt. Shomron possesses a talent that few in the army can boast. Almost every time he makes a public statement, he drops a bomb. Not everybody at the general staff appreciates this, and it is said that inside the apparatus he does not rush to criticize, but the facts themselves are weighty and despite the manner in which they were said, they cannot be ignored. As the commanding general of the Southern District, he gave Ze'ev Schiff one of the most trenchant interviews ever granted by an IDF general. With this interview he incurred the wrath of many in the defense apparatus, but he did not retract one word of it. Although 6 years have passed since that interview, all those to whom I talked still remember its headline: "An Opposition Voice in the Defense Apparatus," which goes to show the storm it caused. Thus, in essence, Shomron said that the IDF, like the entire country, has been living without keeping accounts: "I am in favor of cutting back the regular army, but against cutting down the fighting capability of the enlisted army... In the enlisted army we have many commands without forces of their own, and so a very large percentage find themselves in charge of toothless warehouses... If we were to cut down on this entire cadres administration department, it would not even be felt... I seriously tend to think that regulations will not be decided in the IDF, but will be dictated to the army, as is the case in the United States... The general staff has grown beyond its needs." Two years before the Lebanon war he added: "The greatest danger to our people is the erosion of consensus... I am afraid that if part of the public will think that a war that may break out is not justified or vital, is not a survival war, that will have a decisive impact on motivation."

Shomron joined the paratroopers in the summer of 1955. He was then 18 years old, born in the Kibbutz Ashdod Ya'aqov in the Jordan Valley. Marcel Tobias, the most famous boot camp commander of the time, was his first commanding officer. Shomron served in the 5th company and was noted for his uncommon

endurance and inner peace. He participated in the retaliatory campaigns, then returned to his kibbutz and worked as a tractor and semi driver. To this day he likes to say that he has nothing to worry about; he has his profession--truck driver.

After 2 years at Ashdod Ya'akov he decided to return to the paratroopers. Lt Gen (res) Eytan Barak, who was his instructor at the officers' school, remembers that he stood out for his stubbornness. Speaking about Shomron's character, others also emphasized this trait: "On the one hand, his thinking is original, on the other, he is very stubborn," says Gen Musa Peled (res), former commanding officer of the tank corps. "Like a bulldog he would press on the ideas he believed in." Some people say that at times he was as stubborn as a mule, far more than necessary. When Shomron was a captain and battalion commander, Rafal was commander of the paratrooper brigade. Later, they described their relationship as that of a father and son. In the middle of the 1960's, a time of recurring retaliatory actions, he participated, among other things, in the raid on Janin in May 1965. Matan Vina'i, currently head of the personnel branch, was a company commander in his regiment. The regiment commander was Pihutka. During the same period, he met Ehud Barug, a young fighter in one of the elite units. That young man is today Ehud Barak, commanding general of the Central District. In November 1966 Shomron took part in the raid on Samu'a, and in the 6-Day War he led the first troops that entered the Sinai. Just before the war, he was at the IDF school for command and staff, and when he realized that war was about to break out, he put together an improvised reconnaissance unit, made up of reservists, a fact that proves that fighting wars is not just a question of good timing in the right position. He was active within the company of Brig Gen Yisrael Tal, which fought in Gaza, Rafiyah, and al-'Arish. Years later, attending the ceremony that marked the return of al-'Arish to Egypt, as commander of the Southern District, he remembered the first time he arrived in that town. "We stopped in front of the gas station close to the airfield. I ran over in my jeep to the gas station to see if we could fill up our vehicles there. I began fumbling with the pumps. Suddenly, an Egyptian vehicle stopped next to me. Some 12 soldiers were sitting in it, all pointing their guns at me. I was alone with my driver. Judging by their behavior, they were also not sure who was in charge. I looked, then signaled to them to get off. Their commanding officer was a major. They got off, formed a line, and kept their guns on us. I motioned them to lay their guns on the ground. After consulting among themselves, they did. Then I motioned them to stand at a distance. I asked my driver to give me cover. I searched each one of them, and took them prisoners. For that action and a few others I was given a medal." Later in the war, Shomron and his men broke through the road to al-Qantarah on the canal, took a regimental position some 90 km west of al-'Arish, and participated in the destruction of Egyptian deployments between Rummanah and al-Qantarah. They ended the war with the occupation of the Fayran bridge. Shomron was the first to arrive to the northern part of the canal. It was perhaps his fighting experiences in 1967 that 13 years later prompted him to say: "In the final analysis, every war and contest are a matter of the will to fight. Armies usually collapse not because they are weak, but because they lose the will to fight... Our warfare methods must not be based on quantities of weapons and ammunition, but we must look in the strategic and operational areas for ways to influence the opponents' will to fight. This is an objective that is hard

to achieve by frontal attacks." After the 6-Day War the IDF began to think in terms of armored and air forces, and at the beginning of the 1970's Shomron transferred to tanks. "I like the armored corps and it suits my mentality," he said. He spent the Yom Kippur war at the head of a tank brigade at the canal front. During the first days he fought within the Mandler grouping [ugda], and stopped the Egyptian troops from breaking through to the Sinai through the Mitla pass. He then crossed the canal and participated in surrounding the 3d Army. During the fighting, 80 percent of his men and tanks were hit, and after the fire died down he was faced with lengthy reconstruction work. The Yom Kippur war shook Shomron: "The IDF must be an attack army, because it does not have the staying power for protracted defense," he once said, but not as a direct lesson to be learned from that war. "An attack army is also an army that initiates moves, plans stratagems, and stages sophisticated actions." The war also brought him to the conclusion that the ground forces need a joint command. "It emerged that the part of the ground troops in the campaign is not closed as one complete system. We had to find an answer to ground warfare in all its aspects, including field intelligence, the anti-tank resources of the infantry, tank remnants, and so forth." Shomron continued to hold that belief even under chiefs-of-staff that opposed it--Motta Gur and Rafa'el Eytan. He himself was at the time chief commanding officer of the paratroopers and infantry, and as such could have been hurt by the establishment of a joint command. "Because of Gur's opposition, almost all the other corps officers opposed the idea, too," he says. "During those days it seemed that the game was stacked..." In 1983 Dan Shomron was appointed as the first commander of the ground armies.

In September 1974 he was appointed chief commanding officer of the paratroops and infantry and proceeded to implement the lessons of the Yom Kippur war in the corps. "He built the infrastructure of the present day infantry," says Brig Gen (res) Eytan Barak, who was his deputy at the time. "He dealt with the theory, organization, and utilization of means of warfare such as anti-tank missiles and obstacle-breaking equipment." Together with Nehemiya Dagan, currently chief education officer, Shomron promoted cooperation with the Air Force and introduced to the IDF the system of low-dropping supplies from airplanes. In the process, an intensive antagonism developed between him and Raful. Raful, who at the time was the commander of the Northern District, tried to convince the general staff to purchase the Galil assault rifle manufactured by the Military Industry. Shomron did not reject the weapon out of hand, but requested that experts in paratrooper warfare carry out a series of comparative tests with the Galil and with its competitor, the M-16. That was standard practice, and Shomron went as far as to inform the chief-of-staff that he would resign if it was circumvented. Stubborn. The tests revealed that the Galil was indeed more powerful, but the performance of the M-16 was no less good. On the other hand, the M-16 cost about half as much as the Israeli rifle. The IDF was compelled to purchase both guns. Raful did not forget and did not forgive. At one of the IDF's target shooting competitions, Shomron noticed that the Golan brigade people came equipped with M-16 rifles. He did not miss the opportunity to make some derisive remark in that connection in the hearing of Chief-of-Staff Gur. It is to be assumed that Raful was not too happy about it. Years later Shomron also expressed his views about the saving measures that Raful instituted in the IDF: "I see no real savings in collecting backpacks or having the men eat one egg a week. The real saving is

in asking how much security we derive from each sheqel spent..." "Shomron," said Eytan Barak, "sees things in a broader context. He will fight for his views with all his might, but once a decision is made, he accepts the authority. He kept his cool even in military actions in which men died." Others add that he is cold and calculating, so much so that feelings do not count with him, and this trait may have a negative impact on his relations to people.

Similarly, when he oversaw the Entebbe mission on 4 July 1976 he did not win only praise. Behind his back it was whispered that that his contribution to the planning was not decisive. The credit, it was said, should go to Yoni Netanyahu, Ehud Barak, who did the operations planning, and to Kutty Adam, who was the AGAM head at the time. The chief paratrooper commander, as is known, came into the picture at a later date, some 2 days before the rescue operation when the various elements of the mission, including the "unit" action, had already been determined and were at an advanced stage of planning. Some changes and improvements were still required, and the simulated practice test had not yet been carried out. Shomron gathered the bricks, made some changes and improvements, and put the building together. In the short time at his disposal, say those who had been in on the events, that had been the only logical solution possible. In the end, when a choice had to be made among three different plans, Shomron's was selected. After the mission and the publicity that went with it, he said he felt envy around him. "I took it rather hard. The slander against me did not come from junior commanding officers. At the time I told Motta, the chief-of-staff, that perhaps because of my success with Entebbe I should leave the army." Musa Peled says that had the mission failed, no one would have hesitated to point the finger at Shomron. The Entebbe operation exposed Shomron to the international media. The PEOPLE weekly selected him as one of the most interesting personalities of 1976 together with Jimmy Carter, Juan Carlos, Dino de Laurentis, Robert Redford, and Julius Nyerere. "The Israeli general, who commanded the Entebbe operation, has become an international hero, and he does not understand why," the magazine wrote. "He is extremely retiring in his private life, and his tastes have remained the simple tastes he acquired in the kibbutz: cheese, yogurt, and salad. French cuisine and sophisticated dishes confuse him." Miri Shomron, his soon to be ex-wife, said that Shomron was lost in dealing with the small details of daily life. "If he goes into the kitchen to cook an egg, the kitchen ends up looking like after an earthquake. If he takes our daughter to play on the seesaw, it is to be assumed that she will return with a broken leg or open head."

Today he lives with his second wife, Dalia, in Ramat Aviv. They have been married some 5 years. He has a daughter from his previous marriage, Anat, and Dalia, who works in art and painting, has a son. He loves basketball and tries to see as many of the televised games as he can. As a young man he had played in the basketball team of Ashdod Ya'akov. Once he used to go gliding, too, but the military life does not leave him time for it. It also does not allow him to indulge in reading. Shomron concentrates on professional literature, administration, and army matters.

He received his rank of general in 1978, when he was appointed commanding officer of the Southern District. He came into his command at the retrenchment

stage that followed the peace accord with Egypt and the beginning of the evacuation of the Sinai. In July 1980, in the vegetable garden of Neot Sinai, he prevented a clash between the army and the first evacuees. The argument ended with the soldiers and civilians singing of HaTiqva [the national anthem] together. "The people at the vegetable garden had been allowed to form expectations and had been promised many things that made negotiations difficult," he told MA'ARIV in an interview, sending a pointed hint to the political level. "They are very good people; I appreciate them and emphathize with their pain. It is a pity that they have been deceived in this manner."

When he was district commander, he had two young brigadier generals serving under him: Ehud Barak and Yossi Peled. To this day they are considered to be closer to him than the staff officers. Matan Vilna'i is considered a work friend, but nothing more. Outside the army, his friends are said to be Eytan Barak, Musa Peled, and Hayim Yabetz, who was Abrasha Tamir's deputy at the National Security Department. Shomron values their opinion and accepts advice from them. The same goes for generals (res) Benny Peled, Arie Levy, Avraham Rotem, and Herzl Shapir.

Despite the fact that he is identified with the Labor Party, Shomron is said to be close to Arik Sharon, too. When the latter was appointed defense minister, many thought that Shomron's chances of becoming chief-of-staff had improved. There were people at the general staff who did not like that. They claimed that Shomron informs the minister of what is going on in the Army far beyond the call of duty. When the Lebanon war broke out, Shomron, like Generals Yanosh Ben-Gal and the late Adam, was studying abroad. At the outbreak of fighting, the three hurried home. Raful hastened to find a senior position for his favorite, Yanosh. For some reason, the same did not happen with Shomron and Adam. The former commander of the Southern District had no other choice but to take a jeep and go off with the troops. That was the first war since the Sinai Campaign in which he had no active role. "We were not pleased with our achievements on the ground," he said later, "and that is an understatement."

Although he was not mixed up in the Sabra and Shatila affair, the report of the Kohen commission had an indirect effect on Shomron's career. The commission left no choice to the then defense minister, Moshe Arens, but to replace Raful at the end of his 5th year as chief-of-staff. Arens had three serious candidates for the succession: Shomron, Ben-Gal, and Levy. Since he consulted almost no one, it is difficult to say what tipped the balance in favor of Levy, but it seems that Shomron and Ben-Gal suffered from the wrong supporters. Raful wanted to promote Yanosh, Sharon, and Shomron and each of them ran intensive intercession. Levy kept a lower profile in his key position as deputy chief-of-staff. He had already told the new minister that the two generals that will not be selected will have to leave the IDF. Arens had only a few weeks to make a decision. He summoned Levy and told him he had decided in his favor. Levy wanted to know what would happen with Shomron and Ben-Gal. Arens wanted them to remain in the Army. Yanosh rejected the suggestion that he stay on, and this impulsive move vindicated Arens' decision not to select him as chief-of-staff. Shomron pondered, said alright, and went to talk to Levy, who was still a lieutenant general at the time. The discussion concerned his possible appointment as Levy's deputy. The reply he received was negative.

The same treatment was given to the suggestion to appoint him commander of the Northern District. Shomron had an understanding with Arens to replace Amir Drori on 1 September 1983. Levy's negative answer had legal backing, too. The chief-of-staff recommends appointments, and the minister can only approve or reject them. People who talked to Shomron at the time say that he was cruelly disappointed at the decision not to appoint him chief-of-staff. "He considered retiring," says one of his general (res) friends. "Part of the disappointment was due to the fact that he had served in all the staff jobs and on the battle-field, too, and thought he deserved the top position. He would have felt better if the job had been given to someone with field experience similar to his." A broad hint in Levy's direction.

The two are almost complete opposites: Shomron made his way along the path of field commands, while Levy's most prominent command post had been commanding officer of the Biq'a brigade during the period of pursuit actions; Shomron delegates authority to his men and allows a free hand to those he trusts, while Levy leans toward concentrating responsibilities. Nevertheless, there are no clashes between them and they maintain correct and efficient working relations. This quiet has brought criticism down on Shomron. It is said that in a series of important matters his voice is not heard with the clarity worthy of one who wants to become number one. People close to him claim that he expresses his views on all matters of principle, even when his views do not agree with the chief-of-staff's. His critics claim that he is seeking to avoid unnecessary conflict, paying for it the price of industrial peace and quiet. This is felt particularly at discussions with the defense minister, but the unwillingness to get into confrontations influences his position in lower forums, too. Both his critics and his supporters agree that he is carefully tiptoeing between obstacles on his way to April 1987. One noteworthy exception was the Lavi affair. Shomron holds an unequivocal position that puts hope in the supporters of the aircraft: "This is just the thing for us. If one were to draw up a list of priorities of the defense apparatus, the Lavi would be on it." As chief-of-staff he may find out that the Lavi has long since passed the point of no return.

Shomron's appointment as commander of the armored corps was a way out created by Levy's negative responses. Here he had an opportunity to stamp the structure of the body whose establishment he had stubbornly promoted. Shomron gathered around him a small team, established himself in two small asbestos buildings in Tel HaShomer, and drafted the foundation of the armored corps command: "Responsible for building up and training the ground forces in combat doctrine, development and equipment, training, exercises, and manpower mobilization." What this meant in practice was that the armored corps, artillery, paratroopers, and engineers were united under one roof. The chief corps officers opposed the establishment of the command because it involved depriving them of certain responsibilities. For the same reason there was opposition at the general staff, too. Another problem was that Shomron was compelled to go into exile. The armored command was located far from the general staff. As chief-of-staff he would have to put the command on a base and expand the cooperation among the corps. This is a banner that he has been carrying for many years. His activities at the armor command did not escape criticism. Some say that he failed to strike a balance between taking over responsibilities from the general staff and deepening the cooperation among

the corps. On the other hand, it is said that during his time, a multi-year plan was drafted for all the ground forces, instead of separate plans for each corps. In any event, Shomron will be remembered as the man who founded the command after years of searching discussions to decide its opportuneness.

In January 1985, Shomron left the armored command to become deputy chief-of-staff. His working day begins before 0700--he listens to Qol Israel's "Morning Journal" at the office--and ends at night spending 19 and sometimes more working hours. His job is very complex because the deputy chief-of-staff, together with the head of operations, are in charge of coordinating the staff actions, but he does not have the authority to make final decisions. That authority belongs to the chief-of-staff. Also, the fact that Shomron was one hairbreadth away from the chief-of-staff appointment and that his relations with Levy are no more than correct, does not make it any easier. Shomron has opponents among the generals, too. His tendency to concentrate on the essentials has elicited criticism at the general staff and people say that he does not devote due attention to all the issues.

Shomron is responsible for drafting the yearly work schedules of an Army pinched by budget restrictions. The points he emphasizes now will be his recommendation for the next position. For years he has said that the enlisted Army must not be touched, because should another surprise war break out, its men will play the decisive role in it. Consequently, he has engineered a working plan that does not affect the training and exercises of the enlisted army, only the reserves. In the current work year Shomron cut the Army reserve duty days by 10 percent, and preliminary calculations show that he managed to end the previous year with a rare IDF achievement: not exceeding the reserve duty ceiling and the limit engine hours per armored battle vehicle.

He devotes a considerable part of his efforts to what is known as "the battlefield of the future." He believes that developing sophisticated equipment for the ground forces is another hurdle that the Army has to pass. "Such equipment can have a revolutionary effect on ground warfare. We have superior manpower, and that permits us to capitalize on our advantage in this respect. This requires very good communications, control, and intelligence."

As deputy chief-of-staff he has been compeled--or has had an opportunity--to pay up the IOU he gave Ze'ev Schiff in his 1980 interview, namely to cut back the regular Army. In the past working year he cut more than 2,000 regular Army slots, and this year, 1,700.

Shomron is still not satisfied. He claims that the Army apparatus is cumbersome and that some of its components have swollen beyond all reason. The path from the top of the military pyramid, where orders originate, to the bottom, is too long. He now has an opportunitiy to do something about it within the framwork of the reorganization of the task force, the training cycle, and the manpower branch of the general staff, and he intends to make further cuts and to eliminate duplication. Despite the efforts to make the system more efficient, Shomron believes that within 2-3 years the military budget will have to be increased again in order to meet Israel's growing threatening potential. He believes that a correct balance must be maintained among the four components of the Army: the size and training for order of future means of warfare. "The strength of the Army is measured by its weakest element," he said upon presenting the IDF's yearly work plan. "In the future we will have to return to the optimal balance." This is a struggle he may well be leading from the top of the pyramid.

JUDITH KARP DISCUSSES ORIGINS OF ANTIRACISM BILL

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 2 May 86 p 15

[Article by Roman Prister: "Thank You God For Not Making Me a Gentile"]

[Text] Thank God the Knesset has gone on recess and the entire cast of the absurd play "Proposed Amendment No 24 to the Penal Law of 1945" has been relieved of a nerve-racking burden that has been going on for almost 2 years. The performances will be resumed in the winter session of the house of representatives. The public is invited to attend.

This is not how the team that formulated the draft bill viewed future developments. Some of the team members feared that the draft bill would be rejected, because for trying so hard to achieve general consensus on its contents, the bill does not provide for all the possible manifestations of racial incitement. Mrs Judith Karp was convinced in her innocence that "By submitting the draft bill we fulfilled our obligations to the nations of the world and to ourselves as a nation that is endeavoring to deal with the phenomenon of racism precisely because it has experienced it in its own flesh. We perceived it as an enormous symbolic and educational achievement." Judith Karp is deputy legal adviser to the government and has been in charge of coordinating the formulation of the document from the beginning until its submission for cabinet approval on 17 April 1985.

In all truth, the draft bill was overdue. Some 16 years passed since 2 February 1969, when the State of Israel joined the international treaty on eliminating racial discrimination in all its forms. The treaty sanctions the obligation to institute penal provisions against racial incitement. The statutes of all the European countries, aside from Albania, feature appropriate legal provisions. That is not the case in Israel. Our government and judicial system believed that the existing clauses banning "incitement to revolt" [hamrada] were sufficient to meet social requirements. The derisive "Ashkenazi" labels or nicknames occasionally inflicted on members of the Oriental community did not rate legal changes. Draft bills submitted by two Arab Knesset members were rejected on the grounds that "when the time comes, the government itself will prepare a draft bill banning racial discrimination." But then Me'ir Kahane's actions defied treatment within the framework of the existing legal provisions and the phenomenon of Kahanism proved everybody wrong.

This week, Mrs. Karp told us: "In the past we believed that private draft bills to ban racial incitement should be rejected. We were always of the opinion that we should keep the number of penal clauses down and that we could deal with the problem with the aid of the existing laws. But in time this belief was shown to be mistaken."

In August 1984 the government's legal adviser, Professor Yitzhaq Zamir, urged the Knesset to pass a special law to deal with racial matters. Every single person in the Knesset supported Zamir's appeal.

On 19 November Prime Minister Shim'on Peres informed the board members of the International Federation of Journalists who visited Jerusalem that "in the nearest future the State of Israel will have an anti-racial law."

On 29 November 1984 the drafting team ended its work. The draft bill was sent, as is customary, to governmental offices to elicit their comment. At inner Justice Ministry debates, Minister Moshe Nissim was alerted to the religious law wording of the draft bill, and at one session he asked whether the sentence "thank you for not making me a Gentile" may be regarded as racial incitement. The explanatory note accompanying the draft bill extensively cites Genesis passages referring to the Hebrew tradition that views individual dignity as a lofty value. The minister of religious affairs who examined the draft bill found nothing wrong with it. The thick file containing all the addenda and qualifications to the draft bill does not reveal any reservations on the part of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. As far as it was concerned, the bill was quite acceptable.

On 4 February 1985 the ministerial commission for legal affairs approved the text of the draft bill. On 17 April 1985 the cabinet endorsed it, and the draft bill was published. Paragraph 144 B, which appears at its center, reads: "The punishment for publishing racial incitements or for publishing material with the intention of fomenting racism, is 2 years imprisonment."

No one imagined that anybody in Israel could dispute the clarity and simplicity of this decision. In any event, that was the case up to 7 May 1985, the day that the document was submitted to the Knesset for the first reading. At a certain stage, the Civil Rights Association opposed the draft for containing what it saw as a limitation of the freedom of expression. After a certain period of time, apparently because of the savage racial incitement that characterized the electoral campaign of the "Kakh" movement, the association changed its position and announced its support for the relevant enactment. However, the team that drafted Amendment No 24 was also aware of the difficulties involved in "carefully treading on the grounds of freedom of expression; we had to strike the right balance between two basic elements of democracy: preserving the freedom of expression and the individual's right to full equality. For that reason we decided to recommend a law against racial incitement, and not against racial discrimination (Mrs Karp's explanation)."

On 25 June 1985 the Knesset plenum dealt with, among other things, the continuation of the first reading. The religious parties did not voice any opposition, and only Knesset member Parosh mentioned the elements of religious law contained in the bill. The representatives of SHAS and Morasha remained

silent. At the end of the session, the draft bill was sent to the Commission for Legal and Judicial Affairs for discussion. The government legal adviser, Professor Yitzhaq Zamir, and Justice Minister Moshe Nissim explained to the commission members the reasons that prompted the government to bring forth the draft bill. Immediately afterwards noises began to be heard in the commission and outside it that invited the best among the parties' dancers to an unabashed witches' Sabbath. All of a sudden, the Likud people grasped that this was a unique opportunity to end attempts to talk to the Palestinians. Although the draft bill was initiated by a cabinet in which they were a partner and even held the Justice portfolio, they agreed to give it their vote only in exchange for a parallel bill banning unauthorized talks with the PLO. A new concept was added to the dictionary of Israeli politics: symmetry.

In the meantime, dozens of yellow reservation papers were piling up on the desk of the commission chairman, Elly Koles; Tehiya did not like the proposed prohibitions, and behind Geula Kohen's reasons one could glimpse the real motive: the draft bill would make it difficult for her party to conduct propaganda based on the aspiration for a Greater Israel free of Arab population. Uri'el Lin (Likud) supported the view that first we must use the potential contained in the existing [hamrada] clauses and the libel law. "The proposed amendment is of a proclamatory value only, and there is no intention to press it," he said.

Professor Avner Shaki (MIFDAL) went even farther and claimed that the word "racism" referred only to discrimination against Jews, and therefore should not be used in a law concerning all mortals, even such as do not belong to the chosen people. A very strange pronouncement, coming as it did from an educated man and university lecturer who must have read at least something about white racism against blacks in South Africa, racism against Armenians in Turkey, or against Indians in America.

At the beginning, the draft bill elicited enthusiastic response from all the Knesset members and the ministers. But the higher the pile of objections was growing and the more involved the whole matter was becoming, the more the enthusiasm was ebbing and the readiness to struggle for its endorsement. Knesset member Wirshovsky says that at the most, only three to four members of the Legal and Judicial Committee would come to meetings, "and only on days on which televised reporting was expected would some 10 members show up." The impression that emerged was that the two major elements of the national unity government were not interested in yet another bone of contention between them, and between themselves and the religious lobby.

On the day on which the committee was scheduled to give its final approval to the text of the draft bill, only two Knesset members made it to the meeting: Elly Koles and Mordekhay Wirshovsky. They were both exhausted and dispirited after the six or seven inconclusive meetings they had behind them. Now, in a unanimous vote, they decided to send the bill to the plenum for a second and third reading. (Later, the committee chairman agreed to hold another vote. Each side mobilized its members and the result was 7 to 6 for the approval).

On 12 February 1986 committee chairman Elly Koles was expected to present the draft bill to the plenum. The drafters of the bill were keenly interested in

banning racial incitement before the planned convention of Kakh However, on 12 February, Knesset member Koles surprised the committee with the announcement that he was ill and could not present the bill. He suggested that Knesset member Dan Meridor should do the job instead. Meridor, however, was busy counting votes at the Herut convention and had no time to appear in the Knesset.

Prior to that, the presentation had been postponed for the following reasons: not all the objections were ready; Raffi Adari, chairman of the Alignment faction in the Knesset, was abroad; the mother of one of Koles' close friends had died, and he was at the funeral.

When the situation came to a head, feverish discussions began among the parties, and finally, it was agreed that the two bills--prohibition of racial incitement and the ban on meetings with the PLO--should be put to the vote in the Knesset on 18 February.

On 17 February the coalition leadership met and decided to compel the Knesset members to observe voting discipline. That was done for fear that several Alignment members, who objected to the ban on contacts with the PLO, would not support the "symmetry" principle. Ezer Weizmann clearly announced that he would not support the "PLO bill." His statement was not put to the test because on the morning of 18 February the coalition leadership decided to remove all the objections and to request approval of the original draft.

By the time the Knesset members broke for lunch it was already clear that things would not proceed according to plan. In the afternoon, the religious parties mounted an extensive campaign to remove the draft. Only now, 1/2 year after reading the document as it had been approved by the cabinet, did they discover that it may interpret the religious law as racial incitement.

This concern was not entirely unfounded. The customary prayers, the Babylonian Talmud, and other Torah interpretations are loaded with statements such as "you are called Adam [man] and the other nations are not called Adam," and generally all the references to gentiles reek of contempt and racism. Knesset member Verdiger (Morasha) strongly requested to add to the draft bill a sentence stating that it does not refer to the religious law. A note by the Association for Torah in Israel (founded by Yo'el Lerner, who had been accused of plotting to blow up the Mosque of the Dome on Temple Mount) was circulated in the corridors of the Knesset; the note had initially been sent to Elly Koles, and stated that the bill against racial incitement "violated the spirit of the Torah." Rabbi Hayim Druckman emotionally stated that "observance of the religious law will make us into criminals." When, at the end of the day, the chairman of the Likud party in the Knesset, Sara Doron, announced the decision to postpone the debate, the plenum breathed a sigh of relief.

On 19 February Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hilel said that "We will not proceed to the agenda on removing the proposal." But his was a voice in the wilderness. Party interests were stronger than any moral or legal motivation.

On 20 February the religious camp requested a delay in which to prepare an amended version of the draft bill. It commissioned Attorney Ya'akov Weinrot to

draft a text "in accordance with the requirements of religious law." Knesset member Wirshovsky that the text that was finally submitted for approval "resembled a newspaper item."

On 23 February the chief rabbis appealed to the leaders of the religious parties to prevent the enactment of amendments that would put elements of the religious law outside the law. One of the examples they cited was the clause that forbade selling a house to a gentile. The assertion of the chief rabbis that the proposed bill endangered the religious law indirectly supplied moral support for Me'ir Kahane, who claims that his racist slogans are all based on Jewish religious law. Knesset member Shaki requested to mention in the draft bill that attacks on orthodox Jews will also be considered as racial incitement.

On 26 February Moshe Shahal and Moshe Nissim presented to the coalition leadership an amended version designed to allay the fears of the religious. Instead of the line "whoever publishes racial incitement," the bill stated "whoever publishes material with the object of causing racism." Since it is not conceivable that the Jewish religious law was intended to cause racism, the two ministers told the religious parties, you can vote for the draft bill without any concern. But this time the objection was raised by the nonreligious. The addition of the word "object" involves proving bad intentions, something that would make it very difficult to secure a sentence in court.

All the amendments and changes suggested by the religious were rejected by the cabinet. All the cabinet's efforts to convince the religious to vote for the original version failed. Theoretically, the cabinet has a secure majority in the Knesset even without the religious votes. But the two major blocs, the Alignment and Likud, were careful not to go against the self-esteem and sensitivities of the religious parties. Who knows, tomorrow or the day after they may need their support to form a narrow cabinet.

In the last week before the Knesset's recess, Moshe Shahal announced, on behalf of the cabinet, that the plenum will soon be convened in a special session which will finally pass the bill.

The special session was convened, but the cabinet did not put the bill to the vote. Minister Moshe Shahal announced on behalf of the cabinet that Amendment No 24 will be brought up for approval in the winter session.

12782
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ISRAEL

DATA SHOW MOUNTING THREAT OF INFLATION

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (FINANCIAL SUPPLEMENT) in Hebrew 6 May 86 pp 1, 8

[Article: "Renewal of Concern Over Shops, Increasing Imports, Decreasing Exports, and Large Deviations in the Government Budget"]

[Text] The shopping spree that has hit stores just prior to Passover symbolizes, perhaps more than anything else, the end of the moderation period that has prevailed since the enactment of the economic plan in June 1985.

The large chains reported a rise of 30-40 percent in sales. Even small store owners said that they cannot remember a bigger onslaught of customers for more than a year.

These data, together with reports on the large budget overruns by the government and increases in imports and decreases in exports are causing concerns among economists that price stabilization, which has been so dramatically attained, may collapse, unless the government takes immediate measures to slow down the economy.

When Yitzhaq Moda'i left the Finance Ministry, against his will, there were many who voiced concern that his departure would be the signal for pumping more money into the economy, which would eventually cause renewed inflation. According to these concerns, it was only his stubbornness and his unrelenting war against his colleagues' attempts to overrun the budget, that enabled the success of the fight against inflation. Moda'i did point out in his farewell address that the cost of living index for the next few months (with the exception of April) would not exceed 1.5 percent per month. But many doubt that.

The doubts are shared by Moda'i himself, and this is still his ministry. When he proposed to abolish salary indexing, it was his way to voice his doubts. If not for that, there is no reason to abolish something which is no longer needed anyway. Therefore doubts do exist. What are they based on? What are the factors which may unsettle the price stability which has been so dramatically achieved as part of the economic plan?

The author tries to enumerate the major ones.

Labor agreements. The negotiations on the agreements have been dragging on, and this is already 1 month into the new fiscal year. If negotiations continue at this pace, there may be retroactive payments, with all the implications thereof. But this is not all. The main issue is "how much?" Moda'i's directive was a "realistic zero." It is doubtful that his successor will adopt it and that the prime minister supports it. The latter's influence on economic issues has grown as a result of the latest crisis. Significant pay raises mean renewed inflation.

The deficit. This is a two-sided coin. On the one hand, not all cutbacks have been implemented, which means high expenses. On the other hand, many taxes and other charges that the government agreed on have been neither approved nor implemented. Some of them face an unclear fate at the Knesset with opponents both in Likud and Alignment. Events on the political arena strengthen the hands of those opposed to the education tax or to the motor vehicle assessment. That in turn implies lower revenues. The combination, then, is an increase in the deficit, an increase that threatens renewed inflation. There is already talk at the Finance Ministry of exceeding the budget by up to \$900 million!

Increased money supply. Several government resolutions regarding Solel Boneh, Qupat Holim, the cotton industry, and several others industries, exceed the budget. Most of the funds for these agreements are said to come from the outside. The banking system is to raise the funds, but at the same time the government will be less capable of generating money, which in turn means it will be forced to increase the money supply, which then means inflationary pressures.

Price hikes. What happened to Hebrew books was an exception. Price controls were lifted and the industry raised prices at a rate which was considered unreasonable. The penalty was renewed controls. But most products where controls are lifted show only moderate price hikes within the "reasonable" range. Those do add up, though, with a cumulative effect of constant price hikes, which may not be felt in the short range, from one published cost of living figure to another, but it nevertheless has an effect. The government, too, is forced to raise prices, and substantially so, as it did recently for sugar. This latter situation has a very negative impact. It should be pointed out that some of the budget cuts include curtailing subsidies for staples--the effect of these on inflation is quite clear.

The exchange rate. Until recently it was common to argue that increases in production costs, especially as a result of exaggerated cost of living raises, will force the government to compensate exporters with a devaluation. Devaluation obviously means inflation, in addition to other consequences. Lately there has been a change in tone. Exporters talk about devaluation as imperative for them, regardless of the continued negotiations. The reason: it is becoming increasingly obvious that Israeli exports are "stuck" and that the only way to get them moving is to give them a boost in the form of a devaluation. How much of a devaluation? It is not clear. But any

devaluation, and it makes no difference how it is spread out and how it is camouflaged, means several inflation points.

The outside world. The Finance Ministry assumed that at least some of the inflationary pressures could be neutralized thanks to lower oil prices as well as some other basic commodities and raw materials. As to oil, Moda'i warned once that oil prices can be expected to return to \$18 a barrel by September. True, for the time being there is no sign of that. But the component of the reduced oil prices has already been exhausted. There may be a little bit more that can still be squeezed out of it, but that is it. The windfall has already happened. Now Israel, just like everyone else, is living with a different level of oil prices. What else can be squeezed? At times oil prices may still be lowered a little bit, especially in months which are more sensitive to inflationary pressures. The situation versus other commodities is not clear. Things have already happened to sugar and coffee. This is not a homogeneous group with similar trends. If anything can be hoped for in this area, there will have to be substantial price cuts in the near future.

Change in emphasis. It should also be pointed out that dramatic as the results are in the area of price stabilization, they are far from that when it comes to improving the balance of payment. This shows on figures of both imports and exports. If the government shifts its attention from prices to international commerce, it may have some serious implications on the issue. It is possible that now that Moda'i left, the prime minister will push the issue of economic growth in its true sense, not just in the form of subsidies. The implication on prices, again, is weakness. Not that the re-examination of direction and emphasis is not in order. On the contrary. There is room for just that. But any such step has implications on prices, and awareness of it is the order of the day.

The main problem is that of convincing people. The doubts and suspicions exist. The experience of the last 9 months taught us that the whole Israeli economy, all components thereof, is capable of tackling them. The problem, then, is to convince the public, and this is the decisive factor here, because the government is indeed willing to undertake this challenge. Without that the public can only be expected to behave according to how it has been accustomed to anticipate things, which will only make the problem and its solution that much more difficult. There is a new finance minister, whose goodwill is not questioned, neither is his ability to learn, his perseverance, or even his ability. But the very process that made him finance minister has implications and meanings. It is therefore up to the prime minister to do the convincing. The latter may find himself as the major economic leader, although from the political point of view, this is what neither he nor his colleagues really want.

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SUBSIDIES DECREASED SUBSTANTIALY ON STAPLES

Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew 4 May 86 p 5

[Article: "Thirty Percent Price Hike on Subsidies"]

[Text] Prices of subsidized products, including bread, public transportation, and eggs, were to be raised by 30 percent on 4 or 5 May. The price hike was made necessary because of the \$110 million cutback in subsidy budgets.

Finance Minister Nissim and Histadrut Secretary Qaysar met on the week of 27 April in order to discuss the economic problems. Qaysar told Nissim that in his opinion the drastic subsidy cutbacks are unjustified and that they should strive to attain a situation where there is a multi-year agreement between the Histadrut and the government regarding subsidies. Qaysar stressed that the issue has become a political tool in the hands of the government and the finance minister.

Minister Nissim made it clear that it is too late to agree on subsidies, since he has to stay within budgets that have already been approved.

Representatives of the Coordinating Committee of Economic Concerns and Histadrut representatives were to sign the indexing agreement for 1986 on 4 May. According to the agreement, salaried employees will be compensated for 70 percent of the inflation, if the latter does not exceed 7 percent. If inflation reaches 7 percent in 2 months, the compensation will be of 75 percent; if it is 7 percent or higher in 1 month, the compensation will be 80 percent.

Qaysar explained to the Histadrut secretary that in his opinion indexing salaries is unjustified, especially in view of the fact that the Finance Ministry will have to adopt the same agreement that the Histadrut signed with employers. That agreement somewhat exceeds what the Finance Ministry considers adequate. Qaysar rejected these arguments and claimed that after signing the indexing agreement on 4 May the Histadrut will start negotiating on salary increases.

Senior Histadrut sources told HADASHOT that as a first step the Histadrut will demand raises of 5 percent.

Nsisim promised Qaysar that he would act to implement the subsidy agreement to Solel Boneh and Qupat Holim. After the meeting Qaysar said that he was under the impression that Mr Nissim is more sensitive to unemployment issues than his predecessor.

STATUS OF OIL SHALE PROGRAM REVIEWED

Haifa INNOVATION in English No 126, May 86 p 3

[Text]

Arad — Work is continuing at the research installation of Pama Ltd. near this community, above the Dead Sea, toward the development of practical methods for the utilization of oil shale as an energy source. With more than ten billion tons of proven reserves, such shales are Israel's only domestic mineral energy resource.

Launched some years ago, Israel's oil shale R&D program (see *INNOVATION* 90, May 1983) most recently aimed at developing the capacity to produce up to two million tons of a synthetic oil per annum; that was intended to cover much of the demand for liquid fuel to operate the country's vehicle fleet. However, the economic viability of that approach is now in doubt: the price of shale oil has been projected at a little more than \$30 per barrel — reasonable enough a few months ago, but now more than double what crude oil costs in the open market.

At the same time, an alternate approach still promises to be economical. Shale can be mined, crushed and fed into suitably designed combustion units without any other processing, to serve as fuel for large stationary power plants. Used in this way,

estimates suggest that it would be much cheaper than oil, costing even less — by as much as 50% — than its energy equivalent in coal.

The perfection of such a process would not, by itself, result in immediate gains for the Israel economy. To be truly economical, a power plant that utilizes crushed shale for fuel would have to be located near the mine, to keep transportation costs from wiping out all savings. Just when construction of such a facility would be feasible is not at all clear; economic, as well as technical problems — for instance, where to find the necessary cooling water — would still have to be solved.

Nevertheless, the Ministry of Energy has announced that it will continue to support Pama Ltd. and its R&D efforts. This year the project will be financed to the tune of \$3m., about one half of the Ministry's total budget for alternate energy research. That decision makes a great deal of sense: with energy prices too volatile for comfort, not only economic reasons make it desirable for Israel to develop a fuel supply of its own.

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CSO: 4400/187

HATZOFE ON DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH POPULATION

TA261619 Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 26 May 86 p 3

[Report by S.M. Tisser]

[Text] The "dispersal of the Jewish population" plan came into existence not too many years ago, and at the time its importance from the security, ecological, and social points of view was emphasized. This plan, however, like the plans, speeches, and articles on encouraging Jewish births, Judaizing the Galilee, and fighting the black market, has not been implemented so far. At the end of December 1983 the National Council for Planning and Construction approved a national site plan for the spread of the population, giving priority to the Galilee, the Negev, and Jerusalem and its environs. The intention was for the future population of these three regions to be more than 30 percent Jewish. This plan was passed to the government for approval and was binding on all government ministries and planning bodies. However, this plan was shelved, and rather than a dispersal of this population there is a process of centralization: More than half the Jewish population lives in the center of Israel.

Only 323,000 people (including about 10,000 no-Jews) currently live in Tel Aviv proper, a drop of about 11 percent since 1972. However, there are over 1 million inhabitants in the Tel Aviv District and this comprises about 30 percent of Israel's Jewish population of approximately 3.5 million. If we add to this the central region (885,000 people at the end of 1985), it transpires that half of the Jewish population (about 1.8 million people) lives in the center of the country.

There is a negative emigration balance in the three large cities of Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem (excluding the suburbs), but in every town in the center of Israel (except Ramat Gan and Giv-atayim) the number of inhabitants has considerably increased in recent years, especially in Ra'anana, Rishon Leziyyon, Holon, Kefar Sava, Hod Hasharon, Ramat Hasharon, Bene Beraq, Petah Tiqva, and Netanya.

The center of the country and the settlements "have gained" while the other parts of Israel "have lost" (inhabitants), especially the northern district (including the Galilee of course), southern district, and most of the development towns.

It was only recently reported in the Knesset's Internal Affairs Committee that, judging by temporary data compiled in December 1985, in the Galilee there were 35,000 non-Jews as compared to 352,000 Jews. It was also reported that 15,600 Jews left the Galilee in 1985 compared with 14,600 in 1984.

Unemployment in most development towns has resulted in many inhabitants leaving those towns, but thanks to natural propagation (birthrate) there was a negative emigration of "only" 12,000 in 1985.

"The internal emigration balance of the Jewish population" drawn by the Central Bureau of Statistics indicates that in 1985 25 development towns "lost" 1,200 inhabitants as a result of internal emigration. The population of the northern settlements decreased by 1,100 while the size of the population in the south hardly changed at all, thanks to the increase in the number of inhabitants in the township of Yavne, whose population recently reached 21,000. Eilat has also increased in size, the number of its inhabitants reaching about 20,000.

Contrary to the negative demographic situation of Jews in the north and south, a positive development has occurred in the settlements: About 55,000 Jews currently live in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza; in 1985 the number is actually higher than 4,800.

Part of the public believes that the emigration of Jews (especially young couples) to Judaea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip, "snatched away" inhabitants who would have otherwise moved into development towns or the Galilee. However, most of them make their living in the center of Israel and would not have moved to development towns or the north. They would have stayed in the center of Israel and this would have significantly raised the prices of apartments. These high prices would have indirectly influenced the consumer price index, wage demand, and so on.

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ISRAEL

OIL PROSPECTING ON CONTINENTAL SHELF IN HAR HANEDEV AREA

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 2 May 86 p 5

[Article by economics correspondent, Yehudah Sharoni: "Energy Ministry Examines Request for Oil Exploration on Continental Shelf"]

[Text] Oil magnate Armand Hammer has applied to the Ministry of Energy to increase his investment in oil prospecting in Israel and to be permitted to search for oil in the area of Israel's continental shelf. It would seem that Hammer's application was filed, among other things, in the wake of his meeting with Energy Minister Moshe Shahal, during the latter's latest visit to the United States. Hammer stands at the head of a group of investors who are in the process of carrying out a huge, \$19.2 million oil prospecting project around Har HaNegev. The group has applied to the Energy Ministry to expand its concession to cover the continental shelf, too.

According to information recently received, the Egyptians have found large quantities of oil in sea drilling in the al-'Arish area. The continental shelf has not been explored by any Israeli authority, and people at the Energy Ministry hope that the thorough prospecting done by the Hammer group in the area will increase the chances of finding oil. According to the oil law, the applicant for the right to prospect for oil must prove his financial status and must submit a detailed work plan. The application is now being examined by the Energy Ministry and the reply, which will in all probability be positive, is expected to come in the next few days. According to the oil law, if oil is found, the state is entitled to 12 1/2 percent in royalties.

The Hammer group is in the midst of intensive geological and seismological prospecting in the Har HaNegev area. The area being surveyed is very extensive and if the results are positive, a decision will be made on several drilling sites of which the first is scheduled to begin in September.

12782

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FU'AD KANAWATI, BETHLEHEM'S 'RISING STAR,' PROFILED

Tel Aviv MONITIN in Hebrew No 91, Apr 86 pp 36-37

[Interview by Yonatan Bar-Gior's with businessman Fu'ad Kanawati, date and place not specified]

[Text] The road into the heart of Bethlehem passes by Yosi Bushira's (Hordus), in much the same way as the road to Jerusalem, from the point of view of someone from Bethlehem, passes by the restaurant-piano bar opposite the King David Hotel. Bushira, an old-time Jerusalem resident, got into his current business after trying for many years, working as a senior employee in other people's leisure time businesses, to define the opportunities available in the entertainment industry of the capital. The conclusion he reached, other than the fact that there was a clear need for a larger entertainment industry, was that what is lacking in the city is a place that does not try to cover up the Middle Eastern character of its clients, but quite the opposite. Middle Eastern, in this context, is defined as the common denominator uniting potential entertainment seekers from all corners of the city, including the eastern corner. In an interview that I conducted with him for KOL HA'IR (THE WHOLE TOWN) 3 months ago, Bushira declared that "the Arabs who come here behave better than the Jews. A Jew, the minute he arrives, starts criticizing instead of enjoying. Among Israelis, there is no such thing as sitting politely on a chair and saying: "Hello sir, please sir, thank you sir." Israelis commonly sprawl out on their chairs, sit on the table, drop cigarette ashes on the carpet and shout at the waiters."

Yosi Bushira himself won, due to his sharp shooting, the golden fish award, at which he had aimed his water pistol--the prize of upper echelon entertainment seekers from Bethlehem. This, surprisingly or not, occurred without the ricochets hurting the big fish in Jerusalem. Today, it can be said that the inclusive weight of guests at (Hordus) during an average traffic hour--counting dinars, Swiss francs, new shekels, gold and jewelry--would sink a battle ship, maybe even a peace ship, like that of Abie Nata.

All this is just an introduction to my coincidental meeting at (Hordus), 3 months later, with an Arab by the name of Fu'ad Kanawati, who, although he does not always look you in the eye, nonetheless gives the impression of being fair. What stands out in Kanawati, other than the above average English that he speaks with an American accent of all things, is the casual, elegant, sporty style of his dress, which together with his casquette-like hat, long hair (by army standards), and light sensitive sunglasses, tricked me into thinking

that he was more an American on vacation than what he really is--a Bethlehem businessman. After a few polite words, and after Kanawati went on his way, Bushira came up to me and told me that Freddie, as Kanawati's close friends call him, is half of Bethlehem, or in simpler terms, \$15-\$20 million personally (out of \$150 million in his family) divided among 26 stores rented, 6 apartments, a mount at the entrance of Bethlehem, at the top of which sits a house looking out on the desert, a lot on the main road, a home on the main road, a parking garage in Orange County, California, and a hotel with 60 rooms plus a restaurant-club nearing completion, also in Bethlehem. "Aside from all that," Bushira summarized, "Fu'ad Kanawati is the only person in Bethlehem who is not afraid to openly employ Israelis."

Bushira took care of setting up the meeting between us, and on route to Bethlehem, he pointed out for me, as proof of Kanawati's relative importance in town, chains of stores and buildings belonging, it turned out, to the man we were about to meet. Just before we arrived, Bushira managed to warn me that under no circumstances, for fear of ruining the interview, should I refuse a meal at the expense of the interviewee, because such a move would injure his pride. "Mundo," the name of the complex which we entered, is actually the culmination of Kanawati's achievements to date. It was the first time he decided to take a major initiative, in an attempt to integrate a business risk with a more personal goal. In the restaurant, the only wing that is already operational, I received from the owners of the place a preliminary explanation about the meaning of "Mundo." It should be remembered that the emphasis of Kanawati's words, a 35-year old Palestinian who reads newspapers and knows what can suddenly happen to someone who speaks in a style that is too friendly toward the Israeli media, must be interpreted more by reading into the very willingness of the interviewee to talk, like a Middle Eastern John Lennon, and less by the fact that a Middle Eastern John Lennon would not necessarily have passed an audition with Larry Farns, 20 and some odd years ago, in Liverpool.

Fu'ad Kanawati: "Mundo," Spanish for world, symbolizes in my eyes the idea of one world, in which there is room for everyone, and everyone lives like good neighbors alongside each other. This, I hope, is the atmosphere that will prevail in the place I am building, to which tourists from all corners of the earth will come. The symbol of the restaurant, and the symbol of the entire establishment, is a map of the world with no borders dividing countries, nations, or peoples. The flags are those of the United Nations and the city of Bethlehem. There is in this perhaps something of a contradiction, but I want to emphasize that the flag of Bethlehem appears because I have a desire, along with the overwhelming majority of the city's residents, to preserve this place as an island of peace, an island of good relations. There were events, in Karimizan and other places, which created a bad name and made people afraid to come. We must remove this fear, and I think that the idea of "Mundo" can help people overcome this fear.

[Question] What about your fear, for example, of radical Palestinians who think that declarations such as yours are like personal death sentences?

[Kanawati] I cling to God. If it is my destiny to die, it is not in my hands to change that. I have done wrong to no man. I think that in his life, a man must express something of himself.

[Question] Even so, no one is forcing you to employ two Israelis cooks in a restaurant in the center of Bethlehem, and sign a contract with an Israeli security company.

[Kanawati] There are strong ties between peoples of the two nations, and the people around me know this. I have no political ties, and the people know this, too. I do not poke my nose in politics. I want to live in peace with all kinds of people. Israelis helped me build this place--the restaurant, the hotel. Israelis will also, I hope, come to visit "Mundo." The main street of Bethlehem is as safe as any place else. Nothing has happened here so far. I cry for the dead on both sides. I feel sorry for the people on both sides who had to and still have to move. We, for example, had 200 dunams of orange trees in Yavne and land in Talbiya and Katamon. But we do not ask about it. The land belongs to God, and He divides it up. Even those who lost everything and worked hard have succeeded anew. There are those who feel superior. But I tell you that there is a very good chance of changing the situation. My brother went to California. He could not stand the life here anymore. He does not like fanaticism on either side. I told him to look at the good, but he could not. He is trying to raise his children in a place that he thinks will be better for them. I think that it is better here. With all the problems we have, I think these problems can be resolved. Jews and Arabs are close to each other, but the great powers intervene and ruin things. All those who moved and lost land could be housed in beautiful apartments on the income from 1 month of Saudi oil. But the powers to be are interested in continuing to buy weapons and in waging war. We could, with a little faith, live in a Garden of Eden, each with his fence and his house; when people come to visit, they would knock on the door, if it is not already open. With the weapons budget in the Middle East, we could build everyone houses and factories, and provide everyone with a living. We are not barbarians. Why in the United States there are 52 different states, with different religions and in the USSR different races and regions, and everyone gets along. Even in Bethlehem, where Christians once accounted for a majority of 95 percent, as compared with 50 percent today, there are no problems. We get along, there is agreement. In business and in society, we try not to mix religion. Things do not have to be done just for the sake of revolution. Problems can be resolved in moderation and in a fair way.

Half a Kilo of Gold in Hand

Mumi Ben-Lulu, a reserve IDF officer and businessman, has commercial and friendly relations with Fu'ad Kanawati.

Ben-Lulu: First of all, it should be clear that I support the Likud, and everyone in Bethlehem knows it. However, in Bethlehem, they do not mix politics with anything. I am responsible for the Bethlehem area for the "Shomer" company, which handles civilian protection, primarily for businesses. My friends say that I am crazy to run around here all day, that someone will stick a knife in my back. Nonsense. I come here with my girlfriend, and

believe me, Bethlehem is safer than Jerusalem. Once they tried to attack me, and a friend of mine, a local resident, raised a knife to protect me. They know how to give and accept respect. They are polite and open-minded. In general, Bethlehem is totally different than the image of cities on the West Bank. There has never been a time when they have not expressed sorrow over an incident wherein people were hurt. I heard so many preconceptions about the people with whom I come in contact, and I have a story to tell you on that subject. A few months ago, we received a signal from one of the stores here. I arrived in time to catch two culprits red-handed with half a kilogram of gold in hand. They offered us the gold in exchange for letting them go. But I never considered for a moment going against the trust that the Arab store owners had placed in us. The culprits, by the way, did time, and they were Jews.

Fu'ad is like a brother to me. There was no Jew who gave me anything when I needed it. He never asked a question, he just gave. We go out a lot together. Not too long ago, we spent a weekend together in the north. I showed him some of the scenery. I do not think there is another millionaire in his position who eats with the sanitation workers. Jews at his level do not even look at you. But to Fu'ad, the man is the essence. We are like family to each other.

The Kanawati clan includes, in one of the corners of its many family triangles and squares, the current mayor of Bethlehem, Elias Fray. In the more immediate clan are the brother from California and two sisters, one of whom is married to a professor who will soon be dean of Bethlehem University. The father, Nasri Kanawati, is a member of the city council, a member of the board of the city's electric company, vice president of the Bethlehem International Cigarette Company, and president of the orthodox Christian community in town. Fu'ad Kanawati himself is married to Monica, and the father of Nasri (named after his grandfather), Fu'ad Junior (after his father), and Nihen.

[Kanawati] My father is a moderate man. I learned a lot from him, like how to solve problems. He took it hard in 1948, but he survived. He loves life and hates war. After 1967, he could have bought three quarters of Bethlehem, but he was afraid of losing everything. Today, when I go by, say, a road block, I think about him and do not take it to heart, even if there is a crazy soldier, I try to be relaxed. Maximum, I report him to his superiors, but I never go crazy. Overall, the Jews show intelligence in their administration of their state. But sometimes, they do things that are not good. I, for example, am against group punishment, because it stimulates hatred. The person who sinned should be punished, not even his family. Each man should be responsible for himself.

[Question] Your pragmatic approach to life does not interfere with business, or vice versa?

[Kanawati] I think that the fact that I maintain business contacts with Israelis creates a situation wherein both they and I will become more pragmatic, not vice versa.

[Question] How did you reach your current strong personal economic status?

[Kanawati] Since age 20, I have been helping my father manage the business. We had two factories, both for the production of souvenirs for tourists, such as statuettes and the like. In 1983, we sold those enterprises. Competition had increased; many similar enterprises had been opened by former employees of ours. After my brother went to California, I was the only one left who actually managed the business, and I preferred to invest the monies, at least part of them, in "Mundo," which apart from the idea behind it, can, in my opinion, succeed economically because there is no other hotel in Bethlehem, or in fact, there is almost no facility of its kind even in Jerusalem.

[Question] How much is Fu'ad Kanawati worth today?

[Kanawati] I am worth enough to live. It is not important enough to me that I would sit down and calculate it exactly. The more I know the exact amount, the more spoiled I would become, and I do not want that to happen to me. I want to go on working, like everyone else, and maintain good relations with people. If you start flying overhead, above people, you lose touch, you lose human contact. Between my friends and myself, there is no categorization of wealth, or of "how much are you worth." That includes friends who are farmers, workers, managers of enterprises, and whatever it may be.

[Question] Can it be said of you that you are a millionaire?

[Kanawati] It can be said that before they changed the shekel, the answer would have been yes.

[Question] You, at least in your outside appearance, look different than other business people in Bethlehem.

[Kanawati] In the past, I used to wear a suit and tie all the time, but I did not feel comfortable in that dress. I like to be relaxed, and sporty clothes are relaxing. Most of the people who wear suits are employed by someone else. I can allow myself to wear what I want. Of course, when I sign contracts, I do it in a tie. And if you say a cameraman is coming, we will dress in his honor. I also like to go out a lot, but not with other women. I am conservative when it is appropriate to be conservative. I uphold the 10 commandments. What transpires between a man and a woman is very important, but it must be done right, with respect. I pray that we will all be able to lead respectful lives in Israel. But that is not why I go to church every Sunday. I do pray to God, for myself, because He is enough on the outside to solve everything here on the inside.

[Question] What do you think about John Lennon?

[Kanawati] A great musician and a great philosopher. No one has yet reached his musical heights.

[Question] Lennon, by the way, attacked religion and the commandments.

[Kanawati] He believed, of course he believed. He did not mean that there is no religion, but that there is no religion separating people, that there is one God for everyone.

ISRAEL

CLASSIFIED PRINTOUTS USED FOR SCRAP PAPER

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 6 May 86 p 7

[Article: "Printouts with Intimate Details of Patients in Asaf Rofe Hospital are found"]

[Text] Computer printouts, of a highly classified nature, belonging to Tadiran and containing financial data related to sensitive defense projects, were found in the hands of kindergarten children at Rosh LeTziyon.

"One day my daughter brought home some pictures she made in school. I turned the pages and nearly flipped," says Lt Col (res) Ehud Avner. Avner is responsible for securing information at Bank HaPo'alim. Among the computer pages he found data from the communications bloc of Tadiran which related to production quantities and increases for classified defense establishments. Likewise the report was a follow-up after composite work was carried out on one of the projects of Tadiran. "Computer printouts were also found at the Asaf Rofe hospital containing specific data on the patients such as wards, where hospitalized, etc. "It is not fitting that computer printouts with intimate details on patients and their medical problems should be blowing around in the street--the blame rests with us," says Avner.

Hospital Chief of Staff Dr Mordekhay Varon said that computer paper is used in the hospital as scrap paper. It was reported that an investigation into the matter is about to be launched. Avner thinks that it is possible that parents who work in the computer centers of these institutions are the ones who supplied the sensitive paper to the school. The paper left Tadiran although it was clearly marked "classified" and most of Tadiran's workers are not allowed to read it.

Tadiran's national security officer, Hayim Laba, responded: "I consider this to be a very serious matter. This is a first for us and someone will have to pay the consequences. As soon as we receive the printouts we will launch an internal investigation."

Ehud Avner explains that one of the best techniques to collect intelligence is by scanning computer printouts. Usually these are the most up-to-date and they contain almost all the information which is valid even after they are printed.

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PEACE ACTIVIST ORA NAMIR PROFILED

Tel Aviv MONITIN in Hebrew No 91, Apr 86 pp 30, 33

[Article by Ya'aqov Ahime'ir: "The Palestinian Persuasion of Ora Namir"]

[Text] Knesset member Ora Namir has roamed here and there in the complex circle of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict as it expresses itself principally in the physical and spiritual distress of the residents of the occupied territories and has already won the dubious title, even in her own eyes, of "Golda of the peace camp." Namir, whose image changes from that of a WIZO aunt in charge of labor and welfare to a municipal chicken who just finished sitting on her eggs in the Rabin camp, where they did not hatch into a real appointment in the united national government, has recently been conducting a series of meetings with Palestinian notables in occupied Israel and outside Israel's borders, the goal of which has been to take hold of the prevailing moods and turn them into a position paper for the government and interested Knesset members. From the way that Namir told Ya'aqov Ahime'ir--television Knesset correspondent--about her meetings, some of the excitement and the initial feelings experienced by Namir when she sits with Ahmad Shakur, Hatim Abu-Ghazalah, Eli'as Frayj Yonatan Kutab, and Mustafa Natshah come through. If the meetings anger Yitzhaq Rabin--who is in charge of the territories--even a little bit, that could be seen as a bonus.

Does Knesset member Ora Namir deserve the title "Golda Me'ir of the peace camp?" In her sensitivity toward everything written and said about her, Knesset member Namir may get her back up and fume about this nickname coming from the mouth of a man who has been following the "Palestinian activities" of someone who is not a member of the Knesset foreign and defense committee, but chairman of the house labor and welfare committee. Knesset member Namir has been called "Golda of the peace camp" because of the devotion she has shown in her new political work, as well as the ideological and perhaps spiritual and personal, too--the basis of which is a kind of uprising on the part of this Knesset member against the presence of the Israeli Government in Judeaea, Samaria, and Gaza.

The late Golda Me'ir declared: "There is no Palestinian nation," while Namir feels that she, and the Government of Israel, are charged with the moral duty to act with diligence toward improving "the quality of life," in her

words, as dictated by the official policy toward Arab residents of the territories. When Knesset member Ora Namir served as chairwoman of the committee on education and culture in the last Knesset, there were fierce battles between her and senior officials in the Ministry of Education. Namir abhors empty talk, either in social circumstances, or when officials use it in front of her in the committee hall. She hates the officials' sidestepping tactics, and they in turn breathed a sigh of relief when Knesset member Namir moved to a nearby office on the committee floor of the Knesset, to serve as chairwoman of the committee for labor and welfare. Ora Namir's devotion and stubborn streak are likely to be felt--if they have not already felt it--by the officials dictating the quality of life that will be granted to the Palestinians in the territories. She invites Palestinian dignitaries to her office in the Knesset for one-on-one meetings, and she has also conducted discussions with them, over the past few weeks, alone or with other Israeli officials.

Her current dedication--which will not be a passing phenomenon (as has been the case with other Knesset members in other areas)--to the Palestinian problem and the question of quality of life, is based on an ideological-personal platform, that jibes with a public (and, to a large degree, private) event which is perhaps the most important in Knesset member Ora Namir's (age 55) biography: her break with the Rabin camp in the Labor Party, headed by Yitzhaq Rabin, who is today ministerially in charge of everything that is going on in Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza. This break from Yitzhaq Rabin and his camp was initiated by Namir because she felt that Rabin was not fighting as hard as he should to include her as a member in the united national government. The minister of defense would probably reply that given the facts surrounding the establishment of this coalition, from his point of view as head of the camp, it was difficult, perhaps even impossible, to include Knesset member Namir in the government, as well as another representative of the Rabin camp who is now serving in the government, Minister Ya'akov Tzur, a TAKAM delegate. Ora Namir is, obviously, a dove. Namir: "We, in the Rabin camp, were not a small group of doves. In fact, in the past, even Yitzhaq Rabin was considered a dove, compared with Shim'on Peres, who came out of Rafi. The division in the Rabin camp was not between doves and hawks. The members united around him out of the belief that Rabin was a better candidate to head the government than Shim'on Peres."

It is clear that the members of the camp accepted Yitzhaq Rabin's political authority, but the unleashing of Yitzhaq Rabin's political authority undoubtedly helped Namir leave the camp, spread her wings and take off for meeting with Palestinians abroad and here in Israel: in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Gaza. The war in Lebanon was a turning point in her dovish journey: "I understood that there can be a political constellation where, by induction, the government can use war not for defense purposes. That shocked me."

She was shocked--as she tells it--when she was a guest of the Rabin family for a Sabbath meal and Mr Rabin returned from a tour in Lebanon with Minister of Defense Ari'el Sharon and related that he had advised him to tighten the noose around Beirut.

In the summer of 1983, Knesset member Namir was among 30 Knesset members who signed a declaration for stopping development in the territories. She joined the "Knesset members forum" alongside the "International Center for Peace in the Middle East," or for short, the "Center for Peace." Namir participated regularly in forum meetings, and was appointed by the Center for Peace to be the president of the Judeo-Arab council on peace education, instead of Arie Simon, one of the greatest educators in the country and a recipient of the Israeli education award, who had for years headed the education institution in Ben-Shemen.

Namir met with one of Yasir 'Arafat's closest assistants, Ahmad Shakur, exactly 1 year ago in Bonn.

The initiative for the trip to West Germany came from the Adenauer Institute. A whole delegation of people with dovish views, and not just Knesset members, went to participate in a meeting with Palestinians and Europeans. The Palestinians did not agree to stay in the same lodging with the Israelis. Namir was the only one from the Knesset who was a member of the Labor Party in the delegation to Germany. During the talks, she was told that 'Arafat was sending a special delegate on his behalf to meet with the Knesset members. He sent Ahmad Shakur from Tunisia, his aide on Israeli affairs. "And I was relatively new to this business of meetings," says Namir. She called the Israeli Consultate in Bonn "to seek advice," telling them that a delegate from 'Arafat was going to arrive shortly to have a meeting. The Israeli consul in Bonn responded: "We meet with 'Arafat's people all the time, but I advise you, for your own benefit and considering the noise that such a meeting would create in Israel--do not meet!" But the delegation from Israel did nonetheless meet to discuss how to deal with 'Arafat's special emissary. It was decided that the entire delegation would meet with him. However, the table around which the meeting took place was set up such that Ora Namir found herself facing Shakur.

"I was very tense, which was natural, of course, for someone who was born and educated in Israel, and went through all the brainwashing about the PLO and what it represents, as the major enemy of the State of Israel. There I was, with a PLO representative sitting in front of me, a relatively young man in his thirties. He was nervous and chain smoking."

Shakur, 'Arafat's emissary from Tunisia, opened the conversation with Ora Namir with these words: "I lived in Tel Aviv, on Bograshov Street when Mordekhay Namir was mayor."

Ora Namir's feeling was: "The minute he said those words, several barriers were broken and I felt as if I were talking with a person. His Hebrew was clear, and it turned out that he had come from Tunisia to meet with me in particular because I was the only one in the Israeli delegation who was a member of the Labor Party."

Namir asked Shakur if he did not feel that the PLO had taken the wrong path. Shakur replied that if the PLO did not think in that way, he would not have

come to this meeting from Tunisia. But, in the main, the conversation "did not go anywhere." Namir told Shakur that terrorism was very distressing to Israel. And after this conversation, "I did not close my eyes all night, given the anti-PLO ideologies on which we were raised. And still I felt that I was talking with a human being. I started to think what they would say on the streets of Tel Aviv, what they would say to me at the store, what my housekeeper would say--and I did not close my eyes all night."

Knesset member Namir reported the conversation to Knesset member 'Uzi Bar'am, general secretary of the party.

First Political Visit to the Town of Gaza, Early 1985

Dr Hatim Abu Ghazalah invited Ora Namir to visit the town. He heads the institute for retarded children there.

"It is frightening to arrive in Gaza. Why does the State of Israel need Gaza," asked Namir today. She visited Gaza and was shocked. "I do not understand the State of Israel. What do we need all this for, given the reality of the situation in Gaza. If we wanted to raise the standard of health there, we would need to invest a sum equal to half the entire health budget of the State of Israel. What do we need that for...."

Within the Labor faction of the Knesset, a group of dovish Knesset members began to organize, not just Knesset members such as Aharon Har'el, Nayim Ramon, Rabbi Menahem Hakohen, David Levy, 'Awad al-Bab Darushah, but also senior officials in various functions, Labor Knesset members such as Israel Gat, head of the division on foreign relations, and Nisim Zawili, one of the chairmen of the division for settlement in the Jewish Agency. It was decided that regular meetings would be convened with Palestinian figures to help improve the standard of living. In a meeting with doves from the Knesset, Dr Hatim Abu Ghazalah said that since the Labor Party had come to head the united national government, the situation in the territories had grown worse and worse. He related details about the reality of life in his town, Gaza, and this made a deep impression. Afterwards, Dr Ghazalah was called in by the military government and "given a hard time." The goal of the doves is, of course, to improve the quality of life because there was a feeling that Prime Minister Shim'on Peres was about to effect a breakthrough on the subject of an agreement with Jordan, and therefore, the doves thought, they could not come to terms with everything that was going on within the Arab population in Judaea and Samaria: The population had reached a higher standard of living; on it and only on it was placed the responsibility and the right to decide its fate, without field officers telling them "on their behalf" what to do and to manage, for example, their welfare services.

One of the first meetings was with Elias Fray, mayor of Bethlehem. Knesset member Darushah and Knesset member Namir went to visit him half a year ago. From the days of the Rabin camp, Ora Namir remembered that Rabin had great respect for the knowledge Elias Fray had about the realities and prevailing moods in the territories. Fray told about run-ins with people from the military government, although it should be said that during other meetings, Fray

also made a point of noting positive facts related to the activities of the Israeli administration. But at that particular meeting, with Namir and Darushah, Fray said that one of the administration's officers had told him: "Everything you tell your wife in your bedroom, we know." Fray complained about the reluctance to give permission for families to be reunited. Fray himself said, perhaps even with a hint of understanding, that he was convinced that Yitzhaq Rabin, minister of defense, did not know about everything that went on in the territories (there have been cases where the minister of defense, in certain areas, under certain personal circumstances, has acted against the opinion of Shmu'el Goren, coordinator of activities in the territories.) In any event, a huge gap exists between Knesset member Namir and Shmu'el Goren on everything related to the treatment of the situation in Judaea and Samaria.

It appears that one of the more important and longer meetings convened by the dovish Knesset members was on 29 January 1986, in a hotel in East Jerusalem, with several Palestinian dignitaries. This meeting was sponsored by the International Center for Peace in the Middle East.

Among the participants, on the Israeli side, were Knesset members Shulamit Aloni, Aharon Har'el, Hayim Ramon, Ora Namir, and Israel Gat, who came as an official representative of the Labor Party. One of the Palestinians participating in the meeting was a lawyer from East Jerusalem, Yonatan Kutab, who related a few facts to the participants: From August 1985 to January 1986, 130 arrests had been made in the territories, 40 people had been exiled and 30 homes had been destroyed, all under the united national government headed by a man from the Alignment.

Knesset member Hayim spoke very aggressively during the meeting. You know my dovish views, he said during the meeting, but I cannot come to terms with the fact that until this meeting, 'Arafat never condemned terrorism. This absence of condemnation on 'Arafat's part poses a dilemma for the peace camp. "I cannot support that kind of PLO," said Ramon.

The Palestinian figures claimed, on the other hand, that terrorism is perpetrated against them, too. But aside from these complaints, there were compliments, not just hints, from the Palestinian participants at the meeting. There were those who praised the appointment of Brigadier General Dr Efrayim Sena to the position of head of the civilian administration in Judaea and Samaria. The fact that Minister Rabin allows funds to be transferred to the territories almost without restriction was also noted. Similarly, a softening, or weakening trend was noted in the degree of government intervention in day-to-day life. But, on the other hand, there were arrests and numerous complaints on property issues. Mustafa 'Abd-al-Nabi Natshah, former mayor of Hebron, voiced his complaint at the meeting to the Knesset members about the condition of the Arab shops near "Bet Hadasa." For 40-50 years, he said, the shops have existed and the territory belonged to Bet Hadasa but was leased before the Six-Day War and from a legal point of view, the shop owners cannot be evicted from their property. The shop owners, Natshah said, are being harassed, and the soldiers even emptied the contents of one store onto

the street once. (The minister of defense recently explained in the Knesset that the military presence near the stores that are so close to Bet Hadasa is necessary to protect the safety of the Jewish tenants of Bet Hadasa. He further remarked that he, the minister of defense, could not change that reality which was created before the establishment of the current government.)

Hana Sinyurah, who is considered to be the candidate for the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation (should it be formed) to the peace talks with Israel, complained, among other things, that farmers on the West Bank have no export markets for their agricultural produce. And there were other complaints recorded by the Knesset members.

Of course, Knesset member Namir also asked for the floor to clarify the political reality in Israel for the Palestinians, in case they were not aware of it. "We, the members of the Labor Party who are sitting here with you, do not unfortunately represent the majority. In Israel, there is a long process among the youth, whereby they do not believe the Arabs and espouse war and physical force. Therefore, two possibilities exist: Either there will be an agreement on your part for self-government in the territories, or the IDF will continue to set in Judea and Samaria, and you will continue to be bitter and the situation will only deteriorate. You must choose between these two situations."

It is difficult to say that these words, this choice, elicited a real answer from Messieurs Fray, Sinyurah, Natshah, and others who participated in this meeting at the end of January of this year.

Approximately 1 week after the meeting in the East Jerusalem hotel between the Knesset members and the Palestinians, the Knesset members sat with Minister of Defense Yitzhaq Rabin in his Tel Aviv office. It was 7 February 1986. But not only Knesset members for the Labor Party participated in the meeting, a meeting that was intended to shed light on the situation in the territories based on the homework prepared by Knesset member Ora Namir. (This was also the first meeting between Knesset member Namir and Yitzhaq Rabin since their very friendly relations had been strained following the composition of the united national government.) Professors Galia Golan and Yermiyahu Yuval, as well as other figures active in the Labor Party, such as Israel Gat and 'Omir Marian of the Alignment faction in the Knesset, also participated in the meeting with the minister of defense. Rabin was above board, and there is no doubt that in everything he said relative to the subject of the quality of life, the participants found him to be open, and he, too, came to the meeting armed with homework prepared by himself and his aide. Rabin clarified immediately that he found no contradiction between the military activity against terrorism and an improvement in the standard of living. Ninety-five percent of the residents in the territories are not involved in terrorism, and as the standard of living increases, the cause for terrorism would decrease. But from what the minister of defense said, it turned out that differences of opinion and conflicts of interests between the Jordanian policy toward Judea and Samaria and the PLO, prevent the transfer of regular funds for various development and welfare projects in the territories. As for the shops near Bet Hadasa in Hebron, Rabin clearly stated that he

would not allow the Arab shops to be expropriated for defense purposes. The universities in the territories are the focal point of terrorism, Rabin said. The defense forces had found thousands of books on training for terrorist attacks at these universities, and most of the explosives are home-made. For the most part, Rabin's substantive answers satisfied the participants in the meeting, which lasted approximately 3 hours, although Rabin's overall political forecast was pessimistic: "We waited 28 years for peace--why the sudden pressure now to 'finish' everything off (i.e., a comprehensive peace agreement) within a few months."

The dovish Knesset members' Palestinian discussion partners are looking, somehow, for every arm stretching in their direction from Israel, from the heart of hearts of the Israeli administration, like Ora Namir and her friends. Knesset member Namir summarized the content of these talks with the Palestinians for Prime Minister Shimon Peres and added: "I was impressed by the fact that he was pleased by the very existence of such talks."

She stresses the importance of this active drive to improve the quality of life in the territories: "The unrest in Judaea and Samaria and Gaza is much more dangerous to the very existence of the state than the existence of Israel on the borders of the green line."

And what about the possibility of conducting talks with Yasir 'Arafat himself?

Namir: "At this stage, I would not speak with him. In my discussions with Palestinians I repeatedly emphasize that the issue of terrorism is most crucial, that after all, for the Jew on the street, terrorism stretches the possibility of peace to a distance equal to that between the heaven and the earth."

But, these efforts for the Palestinian people, which surely constitute a new facet of activity among Knesset members, will continue. "How can a person live in a state where wars are one's daily bread? What human image remains for us, as a people, as human beings?"

Knesset member Namir obviously objects to the law that would prohibit their meetings with PLO people. She is a strong supporter of meetings of the sort she conducts, with Sinyurah, Fray, and Natshah.

Namir: "As a person, I feel depressed. I do not see why they and their families, who have lived here for hundreds of years, should have to come and bow before us. They cling to every meeting with us, with the hope that we might be able to talk with the minister of defense, and perhaps with the prime minister." Once, after one of these meetings at which the Palestinians told of their plight, Namir told Knesset member Ramon: "Nayim, I am sensitive. I cannot stand this."

She remembers that Knesset member Charlie Biton advised her: "Come, I will arrange for you to meet with Knesset member Menahem Porush, the former

chairman of the commission on welfare and labor. From him you will learn how not to take things to heart." But such a meeting never took place.

What is the value of these meetings, between Namir, other Knesset members, and Palestinians? There are loud voices in Israel dealing relentlessly with the Palestinian problem and the need to do justice to the Palestinian problem. Ora Namir, too, is convinced that if there is self-determination for the Jewish people, an identical principle should perhaps be implemented for the Palestinians in Judaea and Samaria, although a supportive outsider who knows about this situation said that in his opinion, there is a difference: Others may excel in their radicalism toward the Palestinian problem. But Ora Namir, in his opinion, is active in this arena, not because the Palestinian problem is at the top of her list of priorities, but because of the Jewish problem which is to find a solution. She, Namir, does not wander around the perimeter of the camp, but rather is the heart of hearts of the governmental administration in Israel. And in any event, despite everything, she can pick up the telephone to Mr Peres' office or Mr Rabin's office to aid someone living in Gaza or Bethlehem or Jerusalem. What is this activity called in parliament? Mediation? No. Temptation. Palestinian temptation.

9811/6662

CSO: 4423/104

NEW BOMB GUIDANCE SYSTEM DESCRIBED

Haifa INNOVATION in English No 126, May 86 p 2

[Text]

Haifa - A relatively inexpensive low cost terminal guidance (LCTG) kit for arial bombs has been developed by the experts of Elbit Computers Ltd. This system, now undergoing flight tests, will turn an ordinary "dumb" bomb into an "intelligent" weapon, adding the minimum degree of "smartness" needed to convert an ordinary ballistic trajectory into a point hit.

The new LCTG, tradenamed the "Opher", is suitable for incorporation in the bombs carried by any attack aircraft. It consists of an infrared "seeker", mounted in an aerodynamically stabilized gimballed housing, a guidance computer, mechanical servo flight controls and external control and stabilizing surfaces.

The Opher can be incorporated in almost any aerial bomb, with its detector assembly mounted on a probe in the nose. The airstream, which passes through the assembly's ring tail while it is in flight, causes a detector to "weather vane", aligning approximately along the velocity vector of the bomb. The LCTG attempts to center the target on the detector optical axis, by the commands it issues to its control surfaces.

Accurate and operationally versatile, the Opher will be effective against various targets, such as armored vehicles, ships and some stationary installations, both in low and high level attacks. Simple and autonomous control and guidance systems make it virtually immune against disturbances and interference. Its use does not require any additional pilot training.

/9274

CSO: 4400/187

BRIEFS

COMPUTER DEFRAUDER FIRED--Orna Korlanski, an employee with the Foreign Ministry who admitted to having penetrated the Foreign Ministry's computer without authorization, submitted a letter of resignation last week. Discussions will soon take place between the Foreign Ministry and the Civil Service Commission concerning the conditions of her termination. Korlanski decided to resign after it became clear that if she did not, she would be fired, following an investigation of the event. Meanwhile, it became known that Korlanski, who was secretary to the ministry's legal advisor, had--before the "computer scandal" was revealed--requested to switch from administrative work to political work in the Foreign Ministry. She had asked to be considered for a cadets course. [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 30 Mar 86 p 1] 9811/6662

ARMS TO HONDURAS--Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir told reporters on 5 May that Israel is willing to consider selling arms to Honduras. The news conference was held in Tegucigalpa, the Honduran capital. The foreign minister pointed out that the possibility of selling arms to Honduras is not linked to rebel organization activities directed against the Marxist regime in Nicaragua. On 5 May, Shamir dedicated the new (and first) Israeli embassy in Honduras. There have been full official diplomatic relations between the two countries, but the two were represented by a non-resident ambassador. [Dispatch from New York: "Shamir: Israel Weighs Selling Arms to Honduras"] [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 6 May 86 p 5] 8646

CSO: 4423/110

OMAN

BRIEFS

\$500 MILLION LOAN AGREEMENT--18 May (ONA)--Oman will receive an international loan of \$500 million which the International Gulf Bank has negotiated with 37 Arab and international banks at the request of the Omani Finance and Economy Ministry. The newspaper 'UMAN said the loan agreement will be signed next Wednesday [21 May]. [Summary] [Muscat ONA in Arabic 0820 GMT 18 May 86 GF] /6662

CSO: 4400/186

UAE PAPER INTERVIEWS PFLP'S HABASH ON UNITY

GF241536 Dubayy AL-BAYAN in Arabic 24, 25 May 86

[Interview with PFLP Secretary General George Habash by unidentified AL-QUDS MEDIA correspondent in Damascus; date not given]

[24 May 86 p 16]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] In the past few months there has been a revival in the efforts to achieve Palestinian national unity, such as the Algerian and Soviet moves and the activity of some independent Palestinian figures. How do you explain this? How do you view the mechanism of achieving Palestinian national unity? What are your conditions for achieving such a unity?

[George Habash] It is perfectly true that in the past few weeks and months there has been intensive activity to restore PLO unity on solid, firm, national, anti-imperialist, and anti-Zionist bases as a necessary condition to strengthen the national Arab confrontation of the U.S.-Zionist onslaught against our Arab region, and to make the Palestinian factor more effective in such a confrontation so as to safeguard the PLO's position and prestige.

Hopes in the possibility of restoring the PLO's unity have revived in the wake of King Husayn's 19 February speech. We have said that the speech has provided an objective basis for Palestinian national unity. The joint action whose basis was laid down by the Amman agreement has reached a deadlock. It has been tangibly demonstrated--and perhaps for the first time in such a clear manner--how miserable and desperate is the policy of betting on Washington and its solutions in the region, and it clearly shows everyone that the road to regain the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people is to continue the multifaceted struggle. At the heart of this struggle is the armed struggle. That is the way to preserve the revolution's alliances on the national, pan-Arab, and international levels.

On examining the stand of the PLO leadership from 19 February until today it becomes clear that leadership is still incomprehensively holding on to the Amman agreement [of 11 February 1985]. It has neither abrogated the agreement nor is it showing any readiness to do so. This casts doubts on the seriousness of the criticism leveled by the PLO leadership at Jordanian

policy. The criterion for the seriousness of the national [watani] stand on Jordanian policy is the abrogation of the 11 February agreement.

In short, one can say that the situation created by the aforementioned King Husayn speech, and the objective need to restore the unity of the PLO and to activate the Palestinian element in the Arab-Zionist conflict, have revived the efforts to unify the Palestinian arena, and have revived hopes in the possibility that the PLO will regain its prominent and vanguard role within the framework of the Arab national liberation movement.

The unification process should culminate with a call for convening a national and unifying PNC session that approves and consolidates these points, and lays down the new premise for national Palestinian action.

[Correspondent] You are adhering to the demand that the Amman agreement be annulled, while various Palestinian, Arab, and international circles believe that the agreement has stopped having any value at all. Therefore, why this adherence to the demand to annul the agreement?

[Habash] If it is true that the Amman agreement no longer has any value, why then does the leadership that signed it continue to adhere to this agreement, which is causing all the divisions and disturbances on the Palestinian arena and this rupture in the Arab and international alliances of the PLO? And why is this leadership turning its back to all the calls made by our masses and their national factions and by the friends and allies of our people to annul the agreement and to immediately establish a solid and stable national unity?

If the agreement is actually dead then why has there not been an official declaration that it is dead? What is the reason behind the fact that the political media criticisms that the leadership directed against the Jordanian regime did not go far enough to reach this point?

These questions are totally legitimate. It is also legitimate that we ask why King Husayn did not annul this agreement despite the fierce Jordanian campaign against the PLO and its official leadership.

We believe that the joint move based on this agreement reached a deadlock and has totally ended, but the adherence of the two sides to the agreement affirms their desire not to allow a complete break between them so that in future the course of the Amman agreement may be resumed if better conditions are provided for it.

Jordan considers the agreement a big gain and a basis for joint Jordanian-Palestinian work even without the PLO if it succeeds in obtaining alternatives to the PLO. At the same time it wants to keep the door open to the possibility that the executive leadership of the PLO will abandon its current stances.

For its part the PLO leadership is adhering to the agreement in an attempt to preserve relations with Jordan as well as with the road that led to the

Amman agreement, which was about to lead the Palestinian arena to an absolute disaster.

This is the political significance of adhering to the dead agreement and for this reason we demand its annulment officially and publicly. If the agreement is dead as they say, then they should bury it, as the Palestinian popular saying goes "burying the dead is an honor for them."

[Correspondent] Most of the Palestinian factions have welcomed the unity initiative proposed by the Algerian president. Would you tell us about the importance of this initiative? Is it possible that an expanded Palestinian meeting will be held during the next few weeks? What is your position on this initiative?

[Habash] As a matter of fact, the Algerian initiative was proposed by Brother President Chadli Bendjedid in an address to the Algerian Mujahidin Congress in reference to the Palestinian situation. In his address he described the ruptured situation in the Palestinian arena and called for a meeting of all factions under the auspices of Algeria as a basis for a comprehensive national Palestinian unity.

As you may notice there is not yet an integrated initiative to achieve national unity within the framework of the PLO. However, our knowledge of Algeria, its people, revolution, and leadership prompts us to trust the sincere and constructive intentions behind the call and gives us the hope that the Algerian move will continue, as in the past, in favor of the supreme national interests of the Palestinian people. On this basis we welcomed the call from the beginning. We told Algeria through a direct message from me personally to Brother Chadli Bendjedid and through a delegation sent by the front to Algeria in this regard that we will respond positively to Algeria's good efforts in this direction.

As far as the date of the expanded Palestinian meeting in Algeria and the invitations extended to the factions to attend this meeting are concerned, we have no information about this matter. The Algerian brothers have not told us about the date and have not extended an invitation to us to attend a specific meeting. What we know is that the Algerian leadership is still studying the matter and is still holding consultations in order to determine the following steps.

[Correspondent] It is said that the Algerian initiative stipulates that the dialogue should be unconditional. Is this true? Are you ready to take part in an unconditional dialogue with the Fatah Central Committee?

[Habash] I tackled the first part of the question in my answer to the previous question. As for the second part of the question, I would like to say that any comprehensive or partial dialogue with the Fatah Central Committee should have obvious and specific objectives and should necessarily lead to the abolishment of the Amman agreement. Without being convinced that this dialogue will lead to a comprehensive national agreement that can achieve solid unity, we will not be ready to enter into a useless dialogue.

SAUDI ARABIA

SAUDI ARMS PURCHASES, 'ENTANGLEMENT', DISCUSSED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 16 May 86 p 25

[Article by Sultan 'Abdallah: "Rejection of Deal with Saudi Arabia Ends Ties in an Instant: "Arms of Seven Nations Take the Place of American Arms"]

[Text] Liberation from entanglement in the struggle of the powers ... and their role which governs many nations of the world ... certainly this is similar to a powerful weapon of self-equilibrium so as to not be subject to great political pressure or a war of food or medicine. This is what has been affirmed by the success of Saudi Arabia in getting out of the orbits of direct and indirect pressure, and maintaining its unity of being and word before friends and adversaries.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia has proceeded according to the principle of the existence of an armed force for the nation, that is, that defense of the shari'ah and national tranquility can only be assured by means of strength. From this axiom, al-Riyadh has rejected all pressure whatever as a result of its having acquired advanced weapons. Therefore, it moved to a policy of diversifying its sources of weapons among various developed and friendly nations until it was able to break this monopoly and by its will, resolve, and self-reliance, it was able to become independent.

Perhaps this is the perception with which the British minister of defense, Mr George Younger, returned to his country after a visit to al-Riyadh that lasted 3 days, during which there were three important discussion sessions with Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, second deputy prime minister and minister of defense and aviation which the visitor described as being "friendly ... during which areas of military cooperation between the two countries were discussed." He pointed out that the kingdom is currently talking with seven countries, including Britain, about a military deal involving the Navy. A project of economic equilibrium will be made applicable to an agreement on a Tornado aircraft deal, of which the first installment has arrived in Saudi Arabia piloted by Saudi pilots. This new shipment of planes participated in the graduation ceremony of King Faysal Air College, under the patronage of Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, with the attendance of the British defense minister:

to respond to the call for frontal unity is due to some new political differences and the fear of some parties of conversion of this framework--the salvation--to a framework alternative or parallel to the PLO.

Experience has shown that such fear is not right. We have succeeded in establishing a political program for salvation which rejects the idea of an alternative or parallel organization and which states that salvation is a temporary framework designed to restore the PLO unity on firm national bases after cancelling the Amman agreement. Experience has also proven that the democratic powers are capable of not falling for such tricks. We, in coordination with other democratic factions within the Salvation Front, succeeded in preventing these probabilities. What would the situation be like if the rest of the democratic factions integrated into a joint and coordinated frontal action?

[Correspondent] More than one official in the PLO has stated that all Palestinian fighters have returned to Lebanon. How do you view the military presence of forces in Lebanon which support PLO Chief Yasir 'Arafat?

[Habash] Away from political and propaganda shows and the narrow attempts to employ the Palestinian role in Lebanon in this aspect, our stand is defined as follows:

1. We support and are keen on the unity of all fighters of the camps in Lebanon regardless of their affiliations. We emphasize this point from the prospective of the higher national interest and the sincere desire to prevent the danger of internal fighting.
2. We stress not converting the Lebanon camps into centers to distort the national and pan-Arab plan in the Lebanese arena. We refuse to involve our camps in any external conflicts except to fight the fascist Zionist enemy in full coordination with the Lebanese national forces.
3. We reject all attempts to return to the pre-1982 situation and the techniques of jumping over and going beyond national forces. We view that the Palestinian role in Lebanon must integrate in the Lebanese national and pan-Arab roles, particularly the Syrian role, in confronting the fascist U.S.-Zionist threats which threaten everyone without exception.
4. We consider that the criterion to assess any force or role is represented in its stand toward the ongoing conflict in Lebanon between the national and pan-Arab plan against the Zionist-fascist plan. This how we view the role of any Palestinian party in the Lebanese arena. We have tested this policy over the years, and it has proven to be sound and useful. We have succeeded in saving our camps from the disasters of the unjustified and illegitimate civil war.

/6091

CSO: 4400/189

As I have previously said, this requires the abolishment of the Amman agreement in the first place. Allow me here to affirm that our position and history do not allow us to constitute a cover for a policy that is rejected by our people and that conforms with the U.S. solutions.

[Correspondent] There have been reports about contacts between you and the Fatah Central Committee and Yasir 'Arafat personally. It has been said that the arena of these contacts extended from Moscow to Prague and Sofia, and that 'Abd al-Rahim Malluh, member of the PFLP Political Bureau, held a dialogue with Yasir 'Arafat in Sanaa and Algiers in recent weeks. How true are these reports? What is your stance on a dialogue with the Fatah Central Committee?

[Habash] Reports on a dialogue between the PFLP and Fatah Central Committee are not true. As a precondition to holding such a dialogue, we insist on the cancellation of the "Amman agreement" without delay. The reports of a meeting between PFLP senior officials and Brother Yasir 'Arafat also are not true for the same reasons. The fact is that we participated in the congresses of the friendly communist parties in the USSR, Bulgaria, and the CSSR within the framework of a unified Palestinian delegation, that is the PLO delegation. It was natural for the PLO delegation to hold side contacts and dialogues which were dictated by the occasion and our presence there and the desire to review the dimensions of the future and the purposes of each group. This is something natural. We are not against the principle of contacting those brethren in the Fatah Central Committee who oppose the agreement and who adopt stances against it even if those are shy stances. The contacts with those brethren at times like this are made on a personal level and not because they are representatives of the Central Committee in its current structure, framework, and policy.

[Correspondent] Dr George Habash, it has been said that there is a Soviet initiative to unify the Palestinian arena and that the main points of this initiative were carried by Polyakov during his visit to the region. It also has been said that this initiative was raised by Mikhail Gorbachev during his meeting with Yasir 'Arafat in Berlin and that it was a kind of green light given to Algeria to declare its unification initiative. How true are these reports? Is it true that there has been a change in the Soviet stance toward the PLO crisis?

[Habash] First of all, I can say that during this phase the Soviet Union is making effective moves with regard to the Palestinian crisis. The Soviet friends are paying special attention to the PLO situation and they regret the state of separation and paralysis in which the PLO is existing. They also regret the reflection of this state on the PLO's role and prestige within the framework of the Arab nationalist liberation movement and in the process of the Arab-Zionist conflict.

The appreciation of the PLO's role and prestige has moved the Soviet Union in recent years to exert every possible effort to repulse the threats of deviation and split, and the attempts to contain the PLO. With this stance, the Soviet Union has expressed the core of its sincere international principles.

What appears to be new in the Soviet policy is the result of an advanced dynamism with which the Soviet Union has been working during the past year or shortly before it. This is a characteristic which the Soviet Union has adhered to in its foreign and domestic policies. This dynamism was inaugurated during the 27th CPSU Congress, which is usually referred to by Western media as the Gorbachev era. Certainly we are satisfied with this development in Soviet policy. The Soviet Union today is more enthusiastic than ever with regard to the demand to restore the PLO's unity and its role and prestige. At the same time it is more enthusiastic and concerned that this unity should be based on a solid national basis which is firmly and clearly against imperialism and Zionism.

[25 May 86 p 18]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Palestinian national unity is a process between two parties which requires mutual concessions to reach a common goal. To what extent are you ready to give the concessions required of you in return for the restoration of PLO unity?

[Habash] As far as we are concerned, we call for the return of everyone to the program of national consensus which we all agreed upon--the PLO program and the resolutions of PLO's legitimate national councils, particularly the 16th session and the Aden-Algiers agreement. Those who went beyond these resolutions are required to return to the path of consensus. The Amman agreement and relations with the Egyptian regime are a departure from this consensus. We, who adhered to these charters, are not required to give the necessary concession. Those who violated and went beyond them are required to give the necessary concession first to achieve unity, then to make it firm and national. Having done that, we would deal with an open mind and open heart in all fields which do not affect the national program and the independent representative character of the PLO.

[Correspondent] You have participated with five other Palestinian factions in the coalition known as the Salvation Front. It is clear, by reviewing the stands of these factions, that there are fundamental differences among them, which make some believe that this coalition has reached a deadlock. What are your differences within the Salvation Front? Are you still in this coalition? What prevented it from assuming the role you bet on? What is its future?

[Habash] As you are aware, the formation of the Palestinian Salvation Front came following the signing of the 11 February agreement and the serious fears and dangers it posed, threatening Palestinian national action. The formation of the front was a response to the urgent need in such cases to rally all of the popular and democratic national ranks within a frontal framework to confront the danger of deviation and to maintain the gains of our people and revolution from the hazards of scattering and destruction. Although at the time the Salvation Front did not succeed in polarizing all of the opposing factions, it included six Palestinian national figures and groups. This in itself is a gain and a step toward including the Palestinian national ranks. The reluctance of some parties to integrate into this coalition and

The prince answered: "Certainly, we will apply it to the Tornado deal, or to the al-Yamamah project, as we have named it, as we applied it to the "peace shield" (F-15 aircraft) project ..."

Prince Sultan revealed some of the details in his announcement that his country had sent an official note to the British government about this matter, and that it was an area of broad discussion with Defense Minister George Younger.

From his side, the British minister said that the agreement that has been concluded between the two countries calls for setting up a committee to study how to apply a program of economic equilibrium to the Tornado deal.

Younger, who addressed a group of journalists, added that he had discussed this topic with Prince Sultan and Prince Fahd ibn 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad, assistant minister of defense for civil aviation and supervisor of the equalization program. Saudi Arabia and Britain presented ideas on the issue; all of them will be studied and a working paper drawn from them within 6 months.

The British minister pointed to concentration on the role of the private sector in the two countries and the role it might play in application of the deal. But he said that no detailed discussion had taken place concerning how to pay for the deal, how much is to be paid in cash, and how much in oil.

Prince Sultan explained that the value of the Tornado aircraft deal, which amounts to more than 7 billion dollars, will be subject to the economic equalization program, which is the program that will serve the military agreements which the government concludes with foreign agencies to decrease the cost of the deal and to gain high technology by means of joint projects between Saudi and foreign companies.

Sources in the Saudi ministry of defense confirmed to AL-HAWADITH Saudi insistence on application of an economic equalization program to the aircraft deal, which will be completed in less than 2 years.

The British side expressed its willingness during the discussions to meet the needs of the Kingdom in case the effort of the American administration fails to secure the missile deal which Congress rejected this past week. It is well known that the deal includes 1,700 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles, 800 Stinger air-to-ground missiles, and 100 Harpoon anti-ship missiles, with a total value of \$354 million.

Washington, or, more correctly, the administration of President Ronald Reagan, thinks that this deal is "necessary to support the strength of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the face of increasing threats in the Gulf region in light of the intensification of the Iraq-Iran war," while the Saudis, in the words of Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, think that the deal is routine, and not evolutionary, "but it is necessary for our defense needs."

In spite of the Senate's and House of Representative's objection to the deal, and their success in blocking it, the feeling prevails in the Saudi capital that the deal will be completed by means of the American President's right of the veto.

As for the Saudi position on the rejection, defense minister Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz announced that "we know that there are internal laws in the United States, and that the American people are free to decide as they wish. We also think that the Saudi people, under the leadership of King Fahd and Crown Prince 'Abdallah, are a free people, able to act independently and to purchase weapons from any state that has the ability and time and which is willing."

The clear and correct interpretation of Prince Sultan ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz's speech means that the Saudis will have recourse to a source other than the United States if the agreement on the missile deal is not completed, just as happened when the American administration refused to supply the Saudis with additional F-15 aircraft--of which it possesses 62--at which time it turned to London, for the Tornado deal.

The assistant secretary of state for the Near East and South Asia, made note of this in the middle last month in a long report to the Senate foreign relations committee when he said, "if the United States is not able or determined to continue the deal to supply arms, then the Arab countries, such as Jordan or Saudi Arabia, will search for other sources for arms, and any time our friends look for replacement sources there are political, strategic, and financial costs associated with this matter."

He demonstrated this by saying that "the Saudi purchase of Tornado fighter planes from Britain, something which we believe serves no tangible American interest ... is an excellent example of this."

Some independent studies estimate that the Saudi purchase of British aircraft rather than of more F-15's cost the American economy between \$12 and \$20 billion.

Murphy thinks that the failure of the White House administration to gain the support of Congress for the sale of arms--as happened recently with Jordan--is a negative indicator which demonstrates that the United States has unilaterally put an end to a 30 year relationship of supplying arms to Arab countries, "by which we had a trustworthy and friendly relationship."

It is useful to say here that the missile deal does not represent a significant strengthening of Saudi defense needs, but it is carried out in the context of the policy of al-Riyadh in this matter, which believes that the defense of the security and peoples of the region is a responsibility which falls directly on the shoulders of the residents of the region alone.

It is not new that it is in the interest of the United States and the West that the Saudis continue to equip their forces at a level that assures that they can confront hostile attack from any quarter.

The proof of this was the ability and efficiency of Saudi planes to oppose and shoot down Iranian planes in the spring of 1984 when they penetrated Saudi airspace, ignoring prior warnings. This model event of active strong defense kept Iran from launching other attacks on the states of the GCC.

In any case, the statement issued by the White House on the objection of Congress to the arms deal agreement for al-Riyadh, lessened some of the anger of the Saudis. Local public opinion realized a glimmer of hope in the possibility that President Reagan would become involved to the advantage of completion of the deal, particularly since the statement cautioned that if the United States fails to help the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in this important area, it should be emphasized that it will obtain weapons which it needs from other sources. This is a fixed truth of Saudi policy, which does not need to be demonstrated.

12780

CSO: 4404/328

REVISED BALANCE OF PAYMENTS FIGURES ISSUED

London MEED in English 17-23 May 86 p 26

[Article by Edmund O'Sullivan]

[Text]

REVISED balance of payments figures provided by the central bank have added more than \$18,000 million to the kingdom's accumulated current account surplus since 1981.

The new figures — in the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency's (SAMA's) 1985 report — signify that the kingdom's capacity to absorb low levels of oil income is much greater than previously indicated. This suggests that Saudi Arabia is able to continue its high oil production policy — a policy that helped to cut spot prices to \$10 a barrel earlier in the year, analysts say.

The SAMA report, which traditionally contains the fullest account of the kingdom's recent economic performance, has also dropped all reference to the current account deficit. Figures in the SAMA statistical summary issued in autumn 1985 put the 1984 deficit at about \$24,000 million — after the US', the highest in the non-communist world that year.

The main revisions in the estimate of balance of payments affect services and transfers in 1982. The revised figure is SR 174,187 million (\$48,000 million) — more than 13 per cent lower than the figure provided in SAMA's statistical summary. The equivalent figure for 1984 is almost 10 per cent lower, at SR 160,388 million.

Reduced service payments

The adjustment in both cases stems entirely from a reduction in other government service payments — an aggregate that includes official transfers and contributions or capital subscriptions to international or regional development agencies, plus unspecified government imports.

The revised figure for service payments in 1982 is put at SR 75,044 million, nearly 27 per cent lower than previously reported. The 1984 figure is more than 18 per cent down, at SR 78,422 million.

The overall impact on the balance of payments is shown in the figure for capital movements and reserves. In previous reports, this has been equal in magnitude to the current account balance.

The latest report shows that capital movements and reserves fell in 1982 by SR 25,955 million — equivalent to a current account surplus of the same amount. The autumn 1985 summary had implied a deficit of SR 3,599 million. By 1984, according to the latest report, the implied current account deficit was SR 67,108 million — against the SR 84,701 million deficit implied in the earlier summary.

Aggregating the implied current account balance for 1981-84 shows that, according to the latest report, the kingdom had a SR 47,983 million surplus over the four years — rather than the SR 14,849 million deficit implied in the earlier summary. This represents an effective upward revision in foreign exchange reserves of more than \$18,000 million over the period.

Analysts say big adjustments have previously been made to Saudi balance of payments figures. But the scale of the latest alterations is unusual; it probably reflects a change in the policy affecting the publication of economic statistics, rather than any technical adjustments, they add.

One possible reason put forward by analysts for the changes is that the kingdom has decided to exclude amounts spent on acquiring weapons from the published

figures. Purchases are understood to have been very high in 1982 and 1984. However, limited alterations have been made to government spending figures, which include provisions for defence expenditure.

A second possible reason is that the kingdom has revised the value of reserves, to take account of capital gains and foreign exchange windfalls in its foreign asset portfolio. These are believed to have been close to \$20,000 million since 1982. The kingdom may have decided to take this into account by raising the capital movements and reserves figure.

The adjustments' effect will be to show the kingdom's reserves as much greater than previously supposed. Estimates of liquid reserves have been as low as \$30,000 million. The revisions increase this amount by more than 50 per cent — a figure almost equal to the likely value of Saudi oil exports in 1986.

Exchange rate: \$1 = SR 3.6503

Saudi Arabia: revised balance of payments figures, 1981-84¹
(SR million)

| | 1984 | 1983 | 1982 | 1981 |
|--|------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| A Trade surplus | +31,343 | +43,110 | +135,175 | +277,174 |
| | (+31,113) | (+43,064) | (+132,480) | (+274,761) |
| B Services and transfers deficit | -98,451 | -98,616 | -109,220 | -132,532 |
| | (-115,814) | (-99,339) | (-136,247) | (-145,035) |
| Implied current account balance ² | -67,108 | -55,506 | +25,955 | +144,642 |
| (A + B) | (-84,701) | (-56,275) | (-3,599) | (+129,726) |

¹ Earlier figures in brackets

² Figure derived from capital movements and reserves in SAMA report

Exchange rate: \$1 = SR 3.6503

Source: Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency (SAMA) annual report, 1405 (1985)

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CSO: 4400/184

BRIEFS

NEW PHOSPHATE DEPOSITS DISCOVERED--Jeddah--Phosphate deposits at Jalamid in northern Saudi Arabia may be the biggest in the Middle East, according to government geological consultants. After a year of drilling and sampling, reserves at Jalamid have been estimated at 310 million tonnes of ore, containing an average 23 percent phosphorus pentoxide, they told reporters. Transporting the ore to the Red Sea or Gulf coasts, several hundred km away, could pose a problem, however, the geologists said. Feasibility studies would have to be conducted on exploiting the deposits, and it could be seven to 10 years before they are mined, they added. One said the deposit, 150km South of the huge Akashat deposits in Iraq, could easily be the biggest in the Middle East, although more drilling was needed to confirm this. The region is the world's main phosphate-producing area, with deposits stretching from Morocco to Jordan and Iran. Phosphates were first found in the Turaif, Saudi Arabia. [Text] [Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 15 May 86 p 4] /9274

CSO: 4400/184

GANDHI WRITES TO NAKASONE PRIOR TO TOKYO SUMMIT

Madras THE HINDU in English 5 May 86 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 4.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has sent a lengthy letter to the Japanese Premier, Mr. Yasuhiro Nakasone, spelling out the views of the developing countries on some of the major international economic issues that are due to be discussed in depth at the Tokyo summit of the Western industrialised nations.

The letter was written by Mr. Gandhi in his dual capacity as the Prime Minister of India and the current Chairman of the non-aligned movement to Mr. Nakasone who as the Head of Government of the host country would be presiding over the summit discussions.

The major issues raised by India in this communication relate to the proposed international monetary reforms, the next round of multilateral trade negotiations and measures for debt relief in the context of the repeated Third World pleas to the developed countries for an international economic order based on justice, equity and mutual benefit.

The seven industrialised countries participating in this summit now taking place in Tokyo, the 12th in this series of annual meetings of their Heads of Government, are Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and the United States. The European Economic Community is represented at these summits by the president of the European Council of Ministers and also the president of the European Commission.

As the nine together represent the collective interests and views of the Western world, India has had liberal exchanges at different levels and on different occasions with all of them before this summit, because of the crucial importance of some of the issues they would be discussing in Tokyo against the background of the worsening international economic situation.

Caution on monetary reforms: The Government of India has cautioned these Western leaders against the dangers of confining their discussions on international monetary problems to a mere realignment of the exchange rates, without reforming the current payment system. It cannot be done, in India's view, without radically recasting the so-called "Brettonwoods dispensation" by reviewing and reforming the roles of the World Bank and the IMF in international economic development.

It is attaching equal importance to the next round of multilateral trade negotiations against the background of the declining commodity prices, increasing protectionism, reduction in flow of financial resources, monetary instability created by high interest rates, sharp fluctuations in exchange ratios and mounting debt burdens, leading cumulatively to a reverse outflow of resources from developing to developed nations. The Indian representatives have been stressing that this is not just a cyclical phenomenon but a disquieting symptom of a deeper malaise.

Global view urged: The Government of India has, therefore been urging that the Tokyo summit should take a global view of the deepening economic crisis and set the right tone for the ministerial meeting of the contracting parties to GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs) which will be meeting in Uruguay in September to review the working of this agreement. The G-77, representing the developing countries, is meeting later this month in Brazil to prepare for this ministerial conference.

It has also been emphasised by India that the debt burden, which will be reaching the one trillion mark by the end of this year, should not be tackled compartmentally on a case by case basis but in its entirety as a major international impediment to balanced development. The so-called Baker Plan for alleviating the repayment obligations by rescheduling and opening up the economies of the debt-ridden countries to foreign capital through lower taxes and trade liberalisation to generate more revenues, can at best put off the evil day without offering any permanent relief from this crippling burden.

At the political level, the growing menace of international terrorism is going to dominate the discussions in the light of recent events. But in its excessive obsession with what is regarded as the Libyan brand of terrorism, the U.S. has been blurring the distinction between the use of terrorism by individuals or States as an instrument of intimidation and an excuse for suppression of legitimate liberation movements under the guise of dealing with violence.

In extending its full support to an agreed international approach for dealing more effectively with terrorism, India wants the assembled Western leaders to take a more objective view of this problem and refrain from being influenced unduly by their Libyan blues.

SIGNIFICANCE OF GANDHI AFRICAN TOUR NOTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 7 May 86 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 6.

The Government of India proposes to celebrate the Africa Day on May 25 at a special function in New Delhi which will be addressed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the President of the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), Mr. Sam Nujoma, who is paying an official visit to India on this occasion.

The Africa Day celebrations this year—commemorating the date on which the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was founded 23 years ago—coincide with the Prime Minister's return from a tour of Angola, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Tanzania to demonstrate the Indian people's solidarity with these Southern African frontline States in their struggle for Namibian independence.

The President of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr. Oliver Tambo, arrived in Delhi today on a five-day visit to discuss the problems of the African population in South Africa in their fight against racism. As India has recognised the ANC as a national liberation movement, Mr. Tambo is being accorded a status that is slightly above that of a Foreign Minister for protocol purposes.

Special status: After calling on the President and Vice-President, Mr. Tambo will be meeting the Prime Minister, who is hosting a lunch in his honour, a courtesy that is not normally accorded to visiting Foreign Ministers of other nations. The External Affairs Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, who is his official host, will be having extensive discussions with him, besides giving a dinner at which India's continued support for the ANC's struggle against apartheid will be reaffirmed by him.

An honorary doctorate will be conferred on Mr. Tambo by the Jawaharlal Nehru University at a special convocation. He will also be addressing a public meeting on the African people's struggle against racial discrimination and economic exploitation.

Mr. Nujoma, who arrives on May 24, will be

accorded all the courtesies due to a visiting Prime Minister following the elevation of the Namibian representative in Delhi last year to the level of a head of mission. He will be put up in one of the main State suites at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

Need for closer ties: The Prime Minister's visit to the four African States next week (from May 14) is also intended to focus attention on the need for establishing closer bilateral economic relations with them. Though these countries are poor and backward, they are also rich in natural resources with tremendous potential development in conditions of internal political stability and regional peace.

It is not without significance that even in Angola that is still torn asunder by a civil war, there is an ever-increasing volume of European visitors to explore the possibilities of their participation in the country's trade and industrialisation. In Zimbabwe, Zambia and Tanzania, the growing foreign presence is even greater despite their economic troubles.

The Prime Minister wants Indian businessmen to pay greater attention to the establishment of closer economic links with Africa, the continent of the future, in mutual interest. He has directed the Ministries concerned to step up technical aid to African countries and assist them in every possible way to avail themselves of Indian expertise in many spheres.

A notable omission in the Prime Minister's Southern African tour is Mozambique which has lately fallen out of step with the other frontline States and arrived at some understanding with South Africa, which has been exerting political, economic and military pressures on it to deny bases to ANC cadres. Its marxist President, Mr. Samora Machel, has consequently isolated himself completely from the Southern African mainstream, unlike his Angolan counterpart, Mr. Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, who is under greater pressure from South Africa as well as the U.S. to send back the Cuban troops sustaining his regime.

REPORT ON GANDHI INTERVIEW WITH AL AHAM

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 8 May 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 7.—The Prime Minister has said the process of normalization between India and Pakistan has slowed down because of internal developments in Pakistan, reports PTI.

The Prime Minister said in an interview to Al Ahran, a Cairo daily, that the two countries had made a good start in normalizing relations after he assumed office.

He said when President Zia-ul-Haq came to India in December last year the two countries made a normalization plan which included various steps but "unfortunately Pakistan has not wanted to move as fast as we have planned, and as fast as we want to move, perhaps because of the internal processes that are taking place in Pakistan."

"And we fully understand if they want to slow down the process a little bit but we have pointed out on a number of occasions that any time they want to speed up the process and go faster we are willing to do so," Mr Gandhi said.

The Prime Minister replied to a number of questions covering the latest events in Punjab, international terrorism, the Iran-Iraq war and Indo-Egyptian economic relations.

Answering a question on how he saw the impact of Miss Benazir Bhutto's return to Pakistan and her attitude towards India, Mr Gandhi said: "She has had some very positive things to say vis-a-vis relations with India and she certainly has mobilized the people in Pakistan."

Asked about his proposed visit to Pakistan, the Prime Minister said it depended on various other things. Replying to a question on whether the visit had been postponed because of Pakistan's reported interference in Punjab, Mr Gandhi said the delay was be-

cause of the full package of things that the two countries had to do and not for any particular reason.

"Our commissions have not met. The visa and other problems have not been sorted out. This is the whole string of things," he said.

Asked to comment on events in Punjab after the announcement of the so-called Khalistan by extremists, Mr Gandhi said: "It is a very small extremist fringe group of no consequence. It is not going to make any difference."

The Prime Minister said the U.S. action against Libya was not justified.

Asked to evaluate the non-aligned movement's successes and failures under India's chairmanship, Mr Gandhi said the movement had grown much stronger in the past few years.

"But, at the same time, there are some problems. Perhaps our biggest failing is our not having any success with the Iran-Iraq war," he said.

ANALYST PREDICTS SHAKEUP IN CONGRESS-I

Madras THE HINDU in English 8 May 86 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 7.

The Prime Minister's advisers seem to be satisfied that the threat of dissidence within the Congress (I) has been effectively curbed for the present, but they concede that it might erupt again in a different form if no corrective steps are taken to improve the functioning of the party.

The party leadership does not expect the former Finance Minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, to emerge as a rival power centre or rallying force for bringing together all those who are aggrieved for one reason or the other against the present dispensation.

But it is no longer pretending that with an occasional crack of the whip and some selective punishment the simmering discontent in the party, whether it is at the Centre or in the States, can be contained without some imaginative moves to restore the faith of the rank and file that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is determined to live up to his centenary pledge to get rid of the power brokers who have corrupted the country's political life.

New action plan: So the bright youngmen in the Prime Minister's entourage, who masterminded his election campaign and projected him later as a dynamic leader imbued with the 21st century spirit, are now working behind the scenes on a new action programme laced with populism to recapture the public mood with promises of better performance.

The new approach is aimed at improving the quality of Government with some selective changes during the impending Cabinet reshuffle-cum-expansion and tightening up the party machinery to make it increasingly difficult for unscrupulous local leaders to rig the organisational elections. Apart from the committee that has been set up to inquire into allegations of bogus membership, an independent inquiry is being

made privately to identify the culprits and ascertain whether they were acting on their own to sustain their local influence or in league with some dissidents to pose a challenge to the leadership from within the organisation.

Whatever the outcome of these inquiries into this murky business of party elections, it appears pretty certain that some heads are going to roll although nobody seems to know when the axe will fall, on whom and at what levels, and to what extent. It is highly unlikely that the proposed catharsis will assume the dimensions of a party purge, but even a mild shake-up is enough to create a reassuring impression that Mr. Gandhi means business, if he does not resort to double standards to shield some of the "old sinners" under whatever pretext.

Policy review: A parallel exercise is on behind the scenes to take a fresh look at what has been promised and what has been achieved in the last 18 months to see in what way the present policies and approaches could be modified to ensure better results. It is logically leading to a review of both internal and external policies to visualise how best these could be improved to meet the requirements of the new situation.

The Rajiv watchers in Delhi are waiting to see what is going to happen in the next few weeks, during the interregnum between the budget session of Parliament that is just concluding and the monsoon session that opens in mid-August.

The intention obviously is not to rock the boat too hard which would be counter-productive but administer graduated doses of shock treatment to produce the desired therapeutic effect on both the party and the Government. It remains to be seen whether the badly rundown system can be toned up with such a limited shake-up without the application of more rigorous standards of probity in public life.

/9274

CSO: 4600/1756

PAPERS REPORT GANDHI SPEECH TO CONGRESS-I MP'S

Policy on Terrorism, Other Matters

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 9 May 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 8.

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, today reiterated his government's resolve to isolate and fight hardcore terrorists and anti-national elements.

He also emphasised the need to bring back into the national mainstream those people who were not terrorists but had joined them for various reasons.

Addressing the Congress parliamentary party (CPP), he said the situation in Punjab had clearly demonstrated who stood for national unity and integrity and who was working against it.

AKALI RESIGNATIONS

This was perhaps a reference to the resignations of some Akali ministers and leaders following the flushing out of terrorists from the Golden Temple complex.

Mr. Gandhi asserted that the Union government was committed implementing the Punjab accord in letter and spirit. He said the delay was not due to the Centre and difficulties which had arisen would be solved following the various steps taken recently.

Reaffirming his opposition to terrorism and violence, Mr. Gandhi said it was a matter of regret that international norms and laws were being flouted in the name of fighting terrorism.

Referring to the recent American attack on Libya, he said it could not be condoned as it would lead to anarchy in international relations and jeopardise international peace and security.

The operation of terrorist groups from American and British soil did not give a right to other countries to attack these nations, Mr. Gandhi said.

India had paid the highest price and suffered the most because of terrorist violence but: "It had not prompted us to act in contravention of international law and conventions", he pointed out.

Talking about the Muslim women bill, he said it would essentially consolidate the entitlements of divorced Muslim women and make the disposal of cases easier and speedier. He said any reform should not be imposed and it should have the support of the concerned community.

He assured the minorities that they should not have any apprehension that their identity or culture were being threatened.

He devoted a major part of his speech to the ensuing organisational elections.

Mr. Gandhi, who is also Congress president, said all efforts would be made to keep the party elections "free and fair" avoiding bogus membership that had recently provoked strong protests in the party.

"PAPER TIGERS"

The election would give a chance to genuine partymen with grassroots support to emerge and expose the "paper tigers" in the party. This comment was interpreted in party circles as an attack on those leaders who had not been successful in elections but came to occupy ministerial office.

He sought the co-operation of all concerned to identify cases of bogus membership and bring these to the notice of those scrutinising the lists.

More Details Given

Madras THE HINDU in English 9 May 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 8.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi today reiterated his resolve to isolate and fight hard-core terrorists and anti-national elements. At the same time, he emphasised the need for bringing back into the national mainstream those who were not terrorists but had joined hands with them for various reasons.

Addressing the valedictory meeting of the Congress (I) Parliamentary Party, he said that the present situation in Punjab had clearly demonstrated as to who were for national unity and integrity and who were not. The Centre, according to him, was committed to the implementation of the Punjab accord in letter and spirit and delay in this regard was not because of its attitude. However, he told the meeting that the difficulties that had arisen would be resolved soon as a result of the recent steps taken.

Reaffirming his opposition to terrorism, he said that international norms and laws were being flouted in the name of fight against it. This was a reference to the U.S. action in Libya which, if condoned, would lead to anarchy in international relations and jeopardise international peace and security. The operation of terrorist groups from the U.S. and British soil did not give a right to others to attack these countries, he said. Though India had paid the highest price and suffered the most because of terrorist violence, it did not feel prompted to act in contravention of the international law.

Assures fair party polls: The Prime Minister did not refer to the recent dissident activity or the disciplinary action taken against some members, but he did mention one of the points raised by them—enrolment of bogus members on the eve of the organisational elections. He assured the members that all efforts would be made to keep the elections fair and impartial and sought their cooperation in stamping out this evil, by bringing cases of bogus recruitment to the notice of scrutiny committees. The elections, in his opinion, would give a chance to party members with grassroot support to emerge and expose the paper tigers in the party. It was his hope that genuine and committed people would emerge at all levels to give a new image and vitality to the party. He stressed the need for an extended training programme for party members, particularly freshers.

Minorities' fears allayed: Other subjects dealt with by the Prime Minister included the Bill on the rights of the Muslim divorced women, education policy and Sri Lanka. His observations on these subjects were as follows:

Bill on Muslim women's rights: It will es-

entially consolidate the entitlements of divorced Muslim women and make the disposal of cases easier and speedier. Minorities in the country should have no apprehension that their identity or culture is being threatened. In a multi-religious and multi-cultural society like ours, the basic endeavour should be to harmonise all interest groups on the basis of mutual trust and security. Our diversities should not work at cross purposes but should lead to mutual enrichment, cooperation and finally contribute to the strength of the nation. Any intended reform has to have the support of the community concerned. It should not be imposed.

Education policy: The criticism of the policy was largely motivated by political considerations. The document was a policy statement, not a compendium of details. The role of ideology in education—based on our long-cherished objectives of national unity, secularism, ancient cultural heritage and its integration with our vision of a strong and united India of future—was important.

Not elitist: The criticism that the new policy was elitist was baseless. The main thrust was to harness the talent of our children and make education more equitable. Added emphasis is on interaction among the children of different income brackets and different religions of the country so that they develop correct national perspectives.

Disarmament: India will join the six-nation group to make an appeal on August 6 (when Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bombed 41 years ago on the same date) for sanity and against the growing threat to international peace due to galloping armament race.

Sri Lanka: The growing violence in Sri Lanka was a matter of anguish. The Indian Government was studying the latest points which have emerged after the discussion between the Indian team and Sri Lankan Government. Indian people have always stood against suppression of minorities.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER MEETS CALCUTTA PRESS

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 5 May 86 p 2

[Text]

Calcutta, May 4: The external affairs minister, Mr B.R. Bhagat, said here today that there was no truth in the report that the Sikh militants had declared "Khalistan" at the behest of the US. "The US ambassador in India told us that his government's stand was for a united and stable India and that this attitude is still continuing," he told newsmen at the Calcutta airport before leaving for Delhi.

He also said that all countries were against terrorism and only comprehensive international action could tackle the problem effectively. "Terrorism must be stopped and international action is required for the purpose," he said, adding that the whole country was united in supporting the government in handling the situation in Punjab.

Asked whether Pakistan was behind the terrorist activities in Punjab, Mr Bhagat said, "I can't say whether Pakistan has a hand or not but it is a fact that the Pakistan government is helping the extremists and the Khalistanis and giving them shelter and training in arms. Even the chief minister of Punjab, Mr Surjit Singh Barnala, said he had concrete evidence of Pakistan's involvement in terrorist activities in Punjab. We have drawn the attention of Pakistan in this regard on several occasions and I have personally told the foreign minister of Pakistan, who came to Delhi to attend the NAM meeting, about it."

Asked how Pakistan's help to

the extremists and its desire to improve Indo-Pak relations could go together, Mr Bhagat said, "Pakistan's assistance to the extremists is a negative factor in normalising the relation between India and Pakistan."

He said although the Sikh extremists were not getting much help from the governments of the US and the UK, India was not satisfied with the measures taken by those two countries to curb extremist activities.

On the US arms supply to Pakistan, he said, "We have drawn the attention of the US government to our serious concern in this regard a number of times and the matter figured prominently in all our talks and meetings with the US."

On the US raids on Libya, Mr Bhagat said, "Terrorism can not be stopped by bombing and killing innocent people of a country. The matter would have to be discussed in an international conference and a united and joint action could only free the world from terrorism."

Arms race : The prevention of nuclear war is of "paramount importance" in the world today, the external affairs minister, Mr B.R. Bhagat, said here today. Speaking at the state convention of the Friends of the Soviet Union (FSU), he said, "We consider it most urgent that the arms race, especially the nuclear weapons race, is halted immediately."

On Indo-Soviet relations, Mr Bhagat said, "On most major issues in international relations,

we have shared a similarity of views which reflect our common commitment to the cause of peace." The visits of high-level delegations between the two countries had brought them closer, he added.

Acknowledging the "invaluable understanding and cooperation" from the Soviet Union in the fields of economy, education, technology and culture, Mr Bhagat said a Festival of India would be held in the Soviet Union next year and a Festival of Soviet Union in India.

Mr Priya Ranjan Das Munshi, president of the WBPCC(I), said there was an urgent need to isolate the "basic forces of destabilisation that had set to work in different parts. Efforts were being made to take up every single issue, of religion, caste, community,—be it centuries old—to divide India. The forces are active every minute and even at this moment a new issue must have taken up somewhere."

Mr E.P. Ivanov, the Soviet consul-general in Calcutta, said the friendship between India and the Soviet Union was growing. "Politically, the Indo-Soviet relationship is playing a very important role in international relations," he said.

He said despite the Soviet Union's repeated plea for a moratorium on nuclear arms, the US had not responded favourably and had carried on a series of nuclear explosions.

DEVELOPMENTS IN RELATIONS WITH SRI LANKA REPORTED

Rajiv Briefed on Talks

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 May 86 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 5.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, said today that the latest formulations put forward by the Sri Lankan Government on the proposed devolution of powers would have to be "carefully examined" to see whether these would "meet the aspirations of the Tamil people."

Addressing the informal Consultative Committee of Parliament on External Affairs, he observed that India would have to proceed with "caution" in assessing, whether the Sri Lankan Government would, indeed, be willing and able to work out a political solution to the ethnic crisis involving a realistic devolution of powers."

The Minister avoided the use of the word "proposals" describing the new ideas spelt out in the new Sri Lankan working paper as "formulations" implying that these have to be evaluated and firmed up into concrete offers through further discussions.

Indian team praised: There is, no doubt, considerable appreciation in Government circles here that the four-member Indian team, headed by the Minister of State, Mr. P. Chidambaram, had conducted the latest round of talks in Colombo with great skill and succeeded in obtaining in writing "more specific and precise formulations" on core issues like the constitutional framework, law and order, land settlement and other key elements involved in the proposed devolution. As leader of the delegation, he displayed a detailed grasp of the complexities of the ethnic conflict and explained the Indian point of view with clarity and conviction by concentrating on the fundamentals of the legitimate Tamil demands without getting bogged down in the procedures for devolution.

This was in refreshing contrast with the earlier approach when Mr. Romesh Bhandari tended to give the benefit of doubt to the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene and accept his assurances at their face value to the

point of imagining that, if only the Tamil leaders were a little more reasonable, it should be possible to bring about an amicable political settlement. The last working paper, based on such facile assumptions, left many loopholes for the Sri Lankan Government to dilute its promises and retract from some of its commitments by interpreting them differently on different occasions.

The recent talks had almost failed when no headway was made during the first two days of discussions with the Sri Lankan leaders adhering rigidly to their earlier positions. But the breakthrough came on the last day after further meetings with Mr. Jayewardene, and his two ministerial colleagues, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali and Mr. Gamini Dissanayake dealing with law and order and land settlement.

The talks with Mr. Jayewardene lasted over 10 hours spread over four days, while the team spent over six hours with Mr. Athulathmudali and Mr. Dissanayake. It was indeed a marathon effort which happily ended on a positive note, although it remained to be determined still whether what had been offered in the form of the latest formulations was adequate to satisfy the Tamil aspirations.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who had a brief discussion with Mr. Chidambaram tonight wanted him to make a quick evaluation of the Sri Lankan formulations by tomorrow so that a more detailed assessment could be made on his return from Shillong on Wednesday. What India should do next to carry forward this process would be decided in the light of this thorough examination of the formulations.

A step ahead: The details of the formulations are being kept secret pending high-level internal discussions in Delhi. But it is quite evident that the Sri Lankan Government is not prepared to countenance any merger or linkage between the Northern and Eastern Provinces, although the door has been left open for some administrative consultations to deal with common problems. The new offer goes a little beyond what

was promised during the official talks that followed between Indian and Sri Lankan experts, after initialling the working paper containing the draft proposals in August last, to discuss the details and procedures for the proposed devolution in regard to law and order and land settlement.

There is bound to be a hardening of the Indian attitude towards the squabbling factions of Tamil militants if they continue to indulge in what is described here as "gang warfare" to settle their old scores.

Clarifications Sought

Madras THE HINDU in English 7 May 86 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 6.

The Indian delegation, led by the Minister of State, Mr. P. Chidambaram, which returned from Colombo after extensive discussions, is awaiting some important clarifications from the Sri Lankan Government to fill a number of gaps in the new formulations, before arriving at a proper conclusion whether the latest propositions can satisfy the Tamil expectations.

There are indications of some forward movement in terms of the Sri Lankan responses on the core issues like the overall structure for devolution, law and order and land settlement, but the ideas and offers emerging from these discussions cannot be put together into a viable package capable of acceptance by the Tamil leaders without some further concessions from the Sri Lankan Government.

Unit of devolution: It is one thing to agree on what should be the unit of devolution, but quite another to define the quantum of devolution, without a clear understanding of the degree of autonomy that the Sri Lankan Government is prepared to grant to the Tamil minority in its linguistic region. The new formulations that Mr. Chidambaram has brought from Colombo have to be firmed up with the necessary amplifications and assurances to make the Sri Lankan offer a workable proposition.

Political process: It is for this reason that the Indian delegation has repeatedly stressed during the latest talks in Colombo that the political process which has been restarted would suffer if the momentum is not kept up and the many gaps in the new formulations are not filled in a compressed time-frame. The Sri Lankan Government has indicated the extent to which it is prepared to go to meet the Tamil aspirations, but in India's view, the new offer has to be made more acceptable by putting greater content into it in many essential respects relating to the degree of the proposed devolution.

The main breakthrough was achieved in August last when Indian experts were able to convince Sri Lankan officials that the essential

structure for devolution can be created by amending the island's unitary constitution without recourse to a referendum through insertion of an extra article empowering parliament to establish provincial councils as basic units of devolution and confer legislative and executive powers on them. There is no longer any conflict of opinion on how the provincial councils can be brought into existence without impairing the unitary constitution, if there is a concomitant understanding on the degree of devolution of powers to them.

Getting Tamils' acceptance: So the main problem at present is to make the concept of devolution through provincial councils acceptable to Tamil opinion by ensuring that the powers to be conferred on them are adequate enough to meet their legitimate demands in regard to language, law and order, land settlement, language and representation in services, to give them a reassuring feeling of an autonomous status within the framework of a united Sri Lankan State. The many gaps that remain to be filled in the latest Sri Lankan formulations relate to these vital issues.

The leader of the Indian delegation, Mr. Chidambaram, and the Indian High Commissioner to Sri Lanka, Mr. J. N. Dixit, were to have left for Assam this evening and fly back to Delhi with the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, so that they could explain the pros and cons of the new Sri Lankan proposals to him during the flight. But their trip was cancelled because the Prime Minister who had taken the Congress (I) Vice-President along with him to Shillong, had some other important work to attend to during the return flight to Delhi.

Fuller discussion with PM later: The former Foreign Secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, who went with the Prime Minister on his special plane, had probably given him an account of what had been achieved by the Indian delegation. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi will be having a fuller discussion with Mr. Chidambaram after the necessary clarifications are obtained from Colombo.

to determine what should be done next to ascertain the reactions of the Tamil leaders to the new Sri Lankan formulations.

The big dilemma: The big dilemma now is how to initiate this new dialogue and with whom to talk to in the light of the fratricidal strife between the Tamil militants. The Government of India can start off by talking first to the TULF leaders, but no new dialogue can be initiated without the active participation or association of the militants.

Spokesman on Colombo Bombing

Madras THE HINDU in English 8 May 86 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 7.

The Government of India today condemned strongly the bomb explosion in the central telegraph office in the crowded fort area of Colombo in which as many as 12 persons were killed and over 175 injured according to diplomatic reports reaching Delhi.

The explosion took place during the morning rush hour in the heart of Colombo's central district where the official residence of the President, the Foreign Ministry and other government offices are located, besides many major banks and business establishments.

There was extensive damage to the building and an entire section collapsed killing and trapping in the debris many innocent people who had gone to the telegraph office.

A spokesman of the Ministry of External Affairs said: "We have learnt with deep sorrow and profound concern about the tragic loss of lives and injuries to innocent persons in the bomb explosion.

"India has consistently opposed all forms of violence and terrorism and urged the need for an urgent and peaceful political solution to the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka.

"We, therefore, condemn this act of terrorism which took place in the central telegraph office in Colombo and has resulted in the loss of lives and injuries to innocent persons."

The explosion, which has taken place five days after an Air Lanka plane was blown up at the Katunayake airport, has added an ominous dimension to the wave of violence that has been rocking Sri Lanka during the past several months despite the nominal ceasefire.

It has only added to India's concern in a poignant way that unless an early solution is found to the ethnic conflict, Sri Lanka may be faced with more violence.

There is thus a renewed sense of urgency in Delhi that everything possible should be done to end this tragic civil strife that continues to take an ever increasing toll of innocent lives.

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CSO: 4600/1760

BHAGAT SPEAKS AT DINNER FOR VISITING ANC PRESIDENT

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 8 May 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 7.

INDIA has urged the Commonwealth countries to take stringent action against South Africa if their committee reports negative results next month on ending apartheid.

The external affairs minister, Mr. Bali Ram Bhagat, said today that the Commonwealth's group of eminent persons was trying, as a follow-up of the NASSAU summit, to promote a dialogue between the leaders of the liberation movements and the Pretoria regime to abolish apartheid. The group would submit its report by June.

Mr. Bhagat was speaking at a banquet in honour of the visiting president of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr. Oliver Tambo, who arrived here last night on a five-day official visit.

The two leaders earlier held talks, during which India pledged its total support for the liberation movement. Mr. Tambo explained the strategy

adopted by the frontline states in their struggle.

In his banquet speech, Mr. Bhagat attacked support by Western powers to the Pretoria regime. "The U.S., Britain and some other countries may be concerned about their business interests in South Africa, but they should realise that such interests cannot take precedence over human rights."

The action and policies of the U.S. in relation to what was happening in South Africa were particularly incomprehensible, to say the least. The policy of so-called constructive engagement, by which the U.S. had opted for diplomatic persuasion rather than sanctions, had not made any impact on the situation, he said.

Mr. Bhagat said the reforms recently announced by South Africa on apartheid legislation were so cosmetic in character that they could be dismissed as of no consequence at all.

Mr. Bhagat regretted that South Africa remained obstinately impervious to both the sufferings and indignities it had imposed on the majority population of the country and to international appeals and demands for a genuine change of policy. He described the regime's calls for constitutional reforms as mere ploys to make the world believe that it was reasonable.

He declared that the establishment of a non-racial and truly representative government in South Africa was the only way to avoid a catastrophe in that country.

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CSO: 4600/1752

BHAGAT REPORTS TO LOK SABHA ON VISIT TO LIBYA

Call on Qadhafi, Visit to UN

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 3 May 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 2.—The External Affairs Minister, Mr Bali Ram Bhagat, told the Lok Sabha today that, at the recent meeting between the NAM ministerial group and Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, the Libyan leader had disclaimed any terrorist action on his part.

"According to Col. Gaddafi, the main reason for tension in the region was the denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians who had been forced to resort to violent methods to achieve their goals", Mr Bhagat added.

The NAM ministerial group consisted of the Foreign Ministers of India, Yugoslavia and Cuba and the Ambassadors of Ghana, Congo and Senegal. The group visited Tripoli and the U.N. headquarters in New York in the fourth week of April in pursuance of the mandate given by the ministerial meeting of the coordinating bureau of the non-aligned countries held a few days earlier in New Delhi.

Mr Bhagat, who had led the group, said Col. Gaddafi conveyed the profound thanks and deep appreciation of the Government and the people of Libya for the firm support and solidarity extended by the Non-Aligned Movement at this critical juncture.

U.S. ACTION

"He felt the world should take note of the U.S. action, which had caused considerable damage to civilian life and property".

At the U.N. headquarters, the group called on the Secretary-General of the U.N. and the president of the Security Council and handed over to them the communique adopted at the emergency meeting of the NAM Foreign Ministers and heads of delegations on April 15 on the Libyan issue.

"It also conveyed to them the

profound concern of the movement at the disturbing turn of events and the need for the U.N. to act urgently to prevent further escalation of an already tense situation".

INDIA'S POSITION

Mr Bhagat told the Lok Sabha that in his statement in the U.N. Security Council he reiterated India's principled position that it was opposed to all forms of terrorism, whether committed by individual, group of individuals or organized by States.

"We are prepared to lend our support to any well-considered international cooperative effort to deal with this menace. At the same time, we could not but be gravely concerned at the violation of norms of international behaviour by sovereign States. We are also seriously concerned at the implications of recent events for the security of small States."

At the meeting of the Security Council, convened at the request of the group on April 24, Mr Bhagat presented before the council a position of principle based on the U.N. Charter. "I stressed the imperative necessity of restraint being exercised at this critical juncture, and urged the Secretary-General, particularly since the council had been paralysed by the triple veto, to continue his peace efforts. The Secretary-General appreciated the strength and support given by NAM and assured us that he was doing and indeed would continue to do all he could."

Comment on Walters Remarks

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 3 May 86 p 4

[Text]

New Delhi, May 2: The minister for external affairs, Mr Baliram Bhagat, told the Rajya Sabha today that he felt the recent anti-Indian speech by the United States' permanent representative in the UN Security Council, Gen. Vernon Walters, did not represent the US government's views.

Admitting that Gen. Walters had used "unfortunate" language, Mr Bhagat said, "He is neither the President nor the secretary of state of the United States. I believe he does not represent the feelings of his country." Therefore, Mr Bhagat added, there was no need to react to his statements. However, he asserted that India "would never be cowed down by any threat."

The external affairs minister was replying to clarifications sought by members on his statement on the visit of the non-aligned movement (NAM) ministerial group to Tripoli and the UN from April 20 to 25.

Almost all the members who sought clarifications expressed anger and concern at the "intemperate" utterances of Gen.

Walters. In an oblique reference to India during his speech in the Security Council, Gen. Walters had expressed shock that countries with which the US was cooperating in curbing terrorism had resorted to strident criticism of the US action against Libya.

Mr Bhagat made it clear that India would not give in to any threat by the US and would continue to act and take stands in keeping with the country's known positions. He made this observation in context of Mr Bhatia's query as to whether there was any "seeming connection" between the declaration of Khalistan by a group of militants two days ago and the threat by Gen. Walters.

According to Mr Madan Bhatia (Congress-I) Gen. Walters, in a television interview, had specifically stated that the US should not help India in tackling Sikh terrorism unless it fell in line with US policies.

Though Mr Bhagat did not directly answer the question, he said the entire country had supported the action in Punjab over the past two days and no outside

threat would make any difference.

Earlier, in his statement, the minister said the Libyan leader, Col. Muammar Gaddafi, had expressed deep appreciation for the solidarity shown to his country and had disclaimed responsibility for any terrorist action. "According to him, the main reason for tension in the region was the denial of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians who had been forced to resort to violent methods to achieve their goals."

Regarding his speech in the UN Security Council, Mr Bhagat said, "I reiterated our principled position that we were opposed to all forms of terrorism whether committed by individuals, group of individuals or organised by states." Mr Bhagat, however, emphasised that a liberation struggle was not terrorism, and India maintained that the Palestinian cause was a liberation struggle.

Mr Bhagat said that although the NAM move to discuss the US attack on Libya in the UN Security Council was vetoed, "option is open", to take the issue to the General Assembly.

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CSO: 4600/1762

INDIAN DELEGATE SPEAKS ON UN FINANCIAL CRISIS

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 May 86 p 11

[Text] UN HQ, 30 Apr--Calling the UN's current financial crisis "yet another" challenge to multilateralism, India has asked members to defeat those trying to weaken the world body, reports UNI.

"We hope," India's envoy said in the UN General Assembly last night, "that actions of individual member States would not be allowed to undermine its smooth functioning."

Mr Natarjan Krishnan did not, however, name the USA, whose threat to substantially reduce its contribution to the UN budget forced the resumption of the Assembly.

Nor did he make any direct reference to the Soviet withholding of dues towards UN peacekeeping operations since its inception.

According to the UN Secretary General, the world body faces a \$160-million shortfall this year, and even if it weathers that, it will enter 1987 penniless.

\$242 Arrears

The UN is owed \$242 million in arrears and the Americans have threatened heavy cuts unless it changes the voting system they claim leads to extravagance and waste.

In a gesture symbolizing the developing nation's support for the world organization, Mr Krishnan cleared India's dues to the 1986 UN budget yesterday, before going on to speak in the Assembly.

The thrust of his speech, drawn from non-aligned pronouncements in New Delhi, was against the western failure to accept the new global order being shaped by the emergent States of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Mr Natarajan said: "The UN as it is constituted today, is therefore itself the result of the breaking down of an old and untenable world order and the emergence of a new era of democratization of international relations."

"The failure to accept this natural process lies at the heart of the crisis of multilateralism and the concerted attack from these quarters on the UN and its specialized agencies," he said.

UNESCO

He was alluding to the U.S. move some time ago to withdraw from the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and to slash contributions to the UN Fund for Population Activities.

He observed that lately, "this attack has taken the form of the use of financial pressure to impair the functioning of the organization."

He said: "Any withholding from assessed contributions to the UN represents a deliberate violation of obligations under the Charter--a universal treaty freely entered into--and therefore undermines the basis of international order."

The Indian official recalled that non-aligned Ministers recently condemned the withholding of assessed contributions "aimed at altering the basic character of the UN."

He was referring to the U.S. threat to cut its contribution from 25% to 20% unless members agree to weighted voting rights--varying with contribution--on financial decisions.

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CSO: 4600/1746

ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK APPROVES LOAN FOR INDIA

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 May 86 p 5

[Text] Manila, 30 April--This year, India was able to break a five-year-old deadlock with the Asian Development Bank on its right to borrow from this institution, says PTI.

The Asian Development Bank approved this month its first loan to India with a line credit of \$900 million to industrial credit and the Investment Corporation of India Limited.

The original application made in 1981, was for a total of \$2 billion, but India reduced its total quantum of borrowing to \$1.5 billion following stiff resistance from the USA.

With negotiations at regular intervals, India's first loan was ultimately approved on April 3, to be repayable over 15 years including a grace period of three years.

The bank sources here yesterday said there was possibility of a \$55-million loan from the bank to improve handling of containers and fertilizers at Indian ports. The Indian Government has plans to build 10 fertilizer plants to be funded partially by the Asian Development Bank, sources said.

The loan agreement with the ADB to be signed on Friday is aimed mainly at assisting modernization of the existing industrial production facilities, and a portion of it may also be used to establish new enterprises designed to introduce new technology in India.

The Finance Minister, Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh, arrived last night to lead the Indian delegation participating in the 19th annual meeting of the ADB board of governors inaugurated by the Philippines President, Mrs Corazon Aquino.

It is likely to be attended by over 1,200 representatives from at least 43 nations as well as observers from various organizations engaged in development throughout the world.

Bank officials here were of the view that approval of \$100 million to India would bolster industrial credit and foreign exchange resources of the Investment Corporation of India, so that it could help finance modernization and expansion plans of private firms in the industrial sector. The corporation would, however, remain independent of the development bank in its choice of enterprises to finance.

PAPERS REPORT LARGE INFLUX OF BANGLADESH TRIBALS

Refugees From Chittagong Hills

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 7 May 86 p 5

[Text]

Agartala, May 6 (PTI): Over 8,000 tribal refugees from Bangladesh's Chittagong Hill Tracts have crossed into south Tripura since 29th April, official sources said here today.

Altogether 5,680 refugees have reported to four camps, set up by the state government at Korbuk, Siacherri, Raisyabari and Jaleya. More than 2,508 tribal refugees, mostly Buddhist Chakmas and Hindus, have fled into the deep hill forests in the 45-km stretch from Bhagabantilla to Raisyabari on entry into India, after news spread in the area that the BSF might push them back to Bangladesh.

Intelligence sources said over 7,000 refugees from Mahalcherri and Panchari areas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts were still heading for the Indian border to escape reprisals by Bangladeshi security men and Muslim resettlers.

A PTI correspondent, touring the 45-km stretch opposite the Chittagong Hill Tracts, yesterday found over 2,000 famished tribals, mostly old men, besides women and children, in the Bhagabantilla forest area. They were unwilling to report to refugee camps, as they felt they might be sent back into Bangladesh.

The tribals in Bhagabantilla area were mostly from the Panchari area. They have fled to India after Bangladesh security forces started extensive "search and destroy" operations following a fierce encounter between underground Shanti Bahini guerrillas and Bangladesh Army

at Laogan under the Panchari police station on Sunday. Heavy casualties were reported on both sides, the intelligence sources said.

The tribals told the PTI correspondent that after the encounter, which reportedly lasted three hours, Bangladeshi soldiers rounded up nine tribals, including four Buddhist monks and a college girl, from three villages near the Panchari army camp.

The girl was raped and trussed along with her father, Kamini Mohan Chakma, a former union parishad member of Chemmpapara. Their house was set on fire and they were burnt to death.

Tribals hiding in nearby jungles found nine charred bodies at Chemmpapara when they returned to salvage their belongings after the soldiers had left. Amongst the dead was one Debalmani Chakma, headmaster of the Panchari primary school.

The Tripura government has asked the Centre to give necessary assistance for tackling infiltration. The state agriculture minister, Mr Badal Choudhury, had a telephonic conversation with the additional secretary, Union home minister, Mr Iswari Prasad Gupta, last night. Mr Gupta assured Mr Choudhury that the Union home ministry has already asked the external affairs ministry to initiate talks with Bangladesh for facilitating early repatriation of the tribal refugees, according to official sources.

The state Congress(I) and Tripura Upajati Juba Samity have in the meantime urged the Centre and state governments not to repatriate the refugees unless normalcy returns to the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In separate official statements last night, they said necessary arrangements should be made for the refugees.

New Entry System Planned

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 8 May 86 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 7.—The Minister of Internal Security, Mr Arun Nehru, told the Lok Sabha today that more than 30,000 infiltrators into West Bengal from Bangladesh had been arrested and deported during the past year alone. Since 1972, some 400,000 such infiltrators had been "pushed back". But, he added, there was no precise information about how many such people had entered India and how many of them were still here.

Mr Nehru, who was replying to supplementaries to a question on that subject, said that under a 1972 agreement with Bangladesh, people from that country were allowed to enter India and spend 180 days here. Thereafter, they were to register themselves. What happened, however, was that most did not register but spread into various parts of the country, making it extremely difficult to detect them.

There were, he told one member, no visa regulations for entry into India from Bangladesh. The Government had discussions with that country regarding this and "we are trying to streamline the entire system. Very shortly, there will be a new system".

He told the House also that while the general rise in population in West Bengal between the census of 1971 and 1981 was 22%, the increase in eight border districts of that State during the same period was between 25% and

31%. The matter had been discussed in detail with the West Bengal Government. Some measures had been taken and during the past three years there had been a gradual decline.

Mr Nehru noted that the border with Bangladesh was an open one. The Government had doubled its security forces along the border lately. Also, it planned to have some 2,000 km roads in the border areas of West Bengal alone.

He told a member from Tripura that the Government was taking a very serious view of the recent infiltration of a large number of Chakma tribals into Tripura. "We have taken up this matter with Bangladesh also", he said.

In a written reply to the main question, Mr Nehru said that the infiltration had abated in Malda, Murshidabad and Dinajpur districts in 1985 as compared to previous years.

"The Government is increasing surveillance at the border by raising additional BSF battalions, construction of border outposts, observation post towers and by equipping the BSF with sophisticated equipments", he added.

In a written answer to another question the Government stated that the number of infiltrators from Bangladesh arrested by security forces and State agencies during 1984 and 1985 in West Bengal were 21,331 and 30,080.

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CSO: 4600/1754

OPENING OF KARAKHORAM PASS TO FOREIGNERS PROTESTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 9 May 86 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 8.

The Government of India has protested again, both to China and Pakistan, against the opening of the 5000-metre high Khunjerab Pass across the Karakoram range for international travel between Xinjian and Pakistan Occupied Kashmir in the Gilgit region.

Though the Chinese-built Karakoram Highway was formally inaugurated in 1982 for travel by Chinese and Pakistani citizens, it is only now that this strategic road has been thrown open to foreign nationals under the guise of promoting tourism.

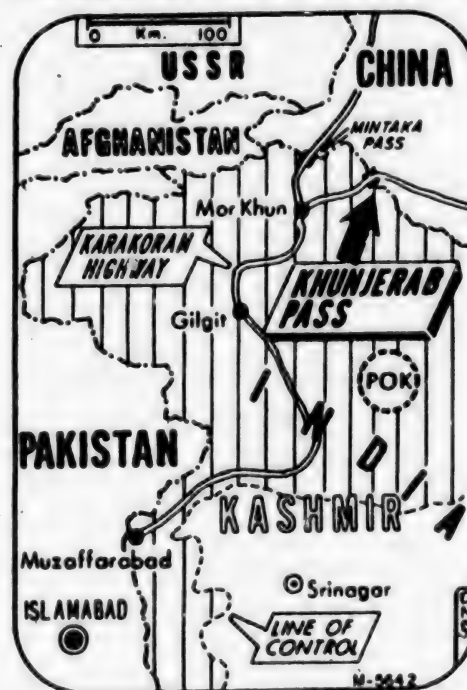
India has been protesting over the last 23 years on every conceivable occasion, to stress the illegality of the border agreement signed by Pakistan, seceding a part of Occupied Kashmir to China, thereby establishing a common frontier across which the Karakoram Highway was subsequently built.

Integrated into Pak: The so-called northern territories, consisting of Gilgit, Hunza and Baltistan in Occupied Kashmir have been integrated into Pakistan, while the rest of the territory continues to be treated as a separate administrative unit, with all the pretensions of a semi-autonomous State. The Chinese continue to maintain that the border accord signed with Pakistan in 1963 is only a provisional agreement which will be finalised in due course if and when the Kashmir question is settled.

Repeating an old tune: So, when the latest protest note was given to him, the Chinese envoy in Delhi repeated this old assertion. But Pakistan considers the integration of these northern territories as final and irrevocable, not sub-

ject to any further negotiation with India, even as part of an over-all Kashmir agreement.

A group of invited travel writers and journalists who crossed the Khunjerab Pass from the Xinjian side, arrived in Islamabad yesterday after a three-day motor journey along the 1,120-km highway which passes through some of the most spectacular mountain terrain in the world.



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CSO: 4600/1759

REPORT ON MEETING OF INDIA-NETHERLANDS JOINT PANEL

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 2 May 86 p 18

[Text] New Delhi, May 1--The Indo-Netherlands joint committee, which concluded its three-day session here yesterday, has identified shipping, transport, agriculture and telecommunications as the main sectors having potential for co-operation between the two countries.

The joint committee agreed that special efforts would be required to achieve the target of trade turnover of U.S. \$1 billion by 1990, set by the Indo-Dutch joint business council.

In this context, the Dutch side emphasised the need for reorienting India's trade promotion programme.

Emphasis was laid on the integrated market development approach to be adopted for different segments of product development and adaptation, quality control and packaging, as well as marketing in identified sectors such as fruits and juices, edible nuts, breakfast cereals, packed spices, packet tea and cigarettes.

The Indian side made a request for expert advice, training and equipment from the Netherlands for commercial production and marketing of flowers, orchids and live plants.

A project to market ornamental fish is also proposed to be pursued with Dutch assistance.

The Dutch side expressed willingness to consider different proposals on a project to project basis. It was also agreed that Indian business delegations in specific sectors would be sponsored by the Dutch authorities for providing them an intensive exposure to the market conditions there.

The outstanding demands made by India to the commission of the European Economic Community (EEC) were referred to by the Indian side.

Besides demanding improved access to EEC markets for Indian products like un-manufactured Virginia tobacco, tropical fruits, shrimps and prawns and leather goods, India has also asked for flexibility in the operation of textile quotas, including transfer of inter-country quotas.

The two sides evinced considerable interest in developing co-operation in telecommunications, especially in respect of common research facilities, exchange of technologies and training.

The Dutch side agreed that specific project proposals would be formulated in this regard for consideration by the Indian department of telecommunications.

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CSO: 4600/1763

CPI-M STATEMENT SCORES AKALI GOVERNMENT

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 1 May 86 p 7

[Text]

New Delhi, April 30: The CPI(M) Politburo today expressed shock at the proclamation of Khalistan by Sikh extremists in the Golden Temple complex and strongly condemned the statements of the extremists about a parallel government.

In a statement here, the politburo said, "This atrocious declaration has been made at the behest of imperialist powers out to destabilise our country. This is a challenge to the unity and integrity of the nation."

The proclamation exposed the anti-national motives of the extremists who were trying to hide their activities under the cover of defending religious belief.

The party said it had asked the Akali government to take firm measures to flush out extremists from gurdwaras. The Akali leadership had refused to rise to the occasion in the face of the extremist offensive. The resolve at Anandapur Sahib to drive out extremists from the Golden Temple remained only on paper.

The Politburo, however, hailed the Punjab chief minister, Mr S.S. Barnala's vow to crush the Khalistani extremists.

The party said Mr Barnala's words would hold meaning only if the Akalis stopped mixing politics with religion and took firm steps not only to flush out the extremists from the Golden

Temple and other gurdwaras but also ensure that no gurdwara would ever be used for anti-national activities and as centres of armed rebellion.

So far, the state government's policy had helped strengthen fundamentalism among the Sikh masses thereby helping the extremists. The Akalis had to take a stand on secularism if they were serious to fight anti-national activities.

The CPI(M) said the Centre had for long treated the trouble in Punjab as a law and order problem. "Even after the Punjab accord, it did not take serious steps to arouse the people against the extremists."

The Centre had allowed the Haryana chief minister, Mr Bhajan Lal, to add fuel to the fire by his provocative statements.

"When the nation is faced with the threat to its unity, the central Congress leadership should enforce discipline on the leaders belonging to the ruling party not to instigate the people of one community against another and one state against another. This dangerous game for narrow partisan interests in today's situation can prove very disastrous."

The CPI(M) called upon the democratic-minded people in Punjab to isolate the extremists and separatists. The party recalled the great sacrifices made by the people of Punjab during the freedom struggle.

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CSO: 4600/1747

AKALI DAL SPLITS, PUNJAB GOVERNMENT IN MINORITY

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 9 May 86 p 1

[Text] Chandigarh, 8 May--The ruling Akali Dal in Punjab split today when 27 of the 73 party PLAs withdrew support to the Barnala government.

The speaker, Mr Ravi Inder Singh, granted recognition to the break-away group of the 27 MLAs which sought the status of a separate group in the vidhan sabha.

Earlier, three former ministers--Capt Amrinder Singh, Mr Sukhjinder Singh and Mr Suchha Singh Chottepur--were expelled from the party for six years by the chief minister and the Akali Dal president, Mr S. S. Barnala.

The three ministers had resigned from the cabinet in protest against the April 30 police entry into the Golden Temple.

The Punjab cabinet, at an emergency meeting tonight, decided that the speaker should be removed for "misusing his high office and entering into a conspiracy to pull out the democratically elected Barnala government."

The speaker's ruling granting recognition to the break-away group was made in response to a representation submitted to him yesterday. The representation, signed by 27 members, stated that as a result of a "political split" in their party, the signatories had decided to form a separate group in the vidhan sabha.

With this, the strength of the Barnala group in the assembly is reduced to 46 in the house with an effective strength of 116. The minority status does not, however, pose an immediate threat to his ministry, given the support of the 30-member Congress group.

It may be recalled that not only the Congress but also other opposition parties in the state have already assured their support to the Barnala government, both inside and outside the assembly.

UNI & PTI add: The split was announced this afternoon by the former chief minister, Mr Parkash Singh Badal, at a hurriedly-called press conference at his residence within hours of the expulsion of the three former ministers.

Mr Badal, however, offered that if the two leaders "directly responsible for the police action in the Golden Temple" quit the party and the government, the new group would merge with the original Dal.

Though Mr Badal named Mr Barnala, he did not mention the name of the second leader despite repeated requests by newsmen.

He said the differences had cropped up on the issue of the police entry into the Golden Temple complex. "The split had been effected to strengthen the Akali Dal and uphold the high traditions of the party," he added.

Mr Badal ruled out the possibility of any compromise on the leadership of Mr Barnala. "There is no question of extending any support to the Barnala ministry," he said.

Announcing their expulsion of the three ministers, Mr Barnala said the decision follows their indulging in "anti-party, anti-state and anti-panthic activities especially in the past four days."

Mr Barnala said he had been under tremendous pressure from party colleagues to take action against the three ministers, but he said he had not taken immediate action in the hope that they would not persist with their anti-party activities.

A resolution passed at the cabinet meeting attended by all the 29 ministers charged the speaker with using his office "for destabilising and pulling down a democratically elected panthic government" at the behest of forces "which were anti-Sikh, anti-panthic and inimical to the interests of the state."

Meanwhile, Mr Sukhjinder Singh described his expulsion from the Akali Dal as "unconstitutional and undemocratic."

Capt Amrinder Singh and Mr Sucha Singh Chotepur also described their expulsion as "undemocratic" and violative of the party constitution.

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CSO: 4600/1757

REPORTAGE ON JANATA PARTY CONFERENCE

National Council Meeting

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 1 May 86 p 5

[Text]

Pune, April 30: Several prominent leaders who had attended the third Janata Party convention in Patna in March 1984 are conspicuous by their absence at this year's national council meeting being held here.

Among those absent this year is Mr Raj Narain, who had occupied a prominent place on the dais at the 1984 session of the party. Mr Raj Narain left the party later that year.

The former Prime Minister, Mr Morarji Desai, who was strongly criticised by the party president, Mr Chandra Shekhar, for his remarks against Jayaprakash Narayan, has stayed away from the meeting. Mr Desai was absent at the Patna meeting too. Although his absence in 1984 had raised many a query, his absence this year has surprised very few party members or observers.

Dr Subramaniam Swamy, the stormy petrel who had made two unsuccessful bids to take over the party leadership from Mr Chandra Shekhar, is absent as

he is no longer a member of the party. Mr Karpoori Thakur, Mr Devi Lal and Mr Ramvilas Paswan have also left the party.

The socialist faction of the Lok Dal, which had defected en bloc to the Janata Party in January 1984 in protest against Mr Charan Singh's "Casteism," has returned to the Lok Dal. However, Mr Biju Patnaik, Mr Rabi Ray and Mr George Fernandes have stayed back.

Another prominent leader missing at the meeting is Mr Satyendra Narayan Sinha, who was the chief of the third convention celebration committee. Mr Sinha later joined the Congress(I) after being suspended as the Bihar Janata chief by Mr Chandra Shekhar, who held him responsible for the defeat of the party nominee, Syed Shahabuddin, in the April 1984 Rajya Sabha biennial election.

The noted writer-journalist, Mr Cho Ramaswamy, who had joined the party on an assurance from the party president that he would be free to criticise the party, is also absent this year.

Mr Ramaswamy had sug-

gested at the Patna session that efforts should be made to build up the image of Mr Chandra Shekhar as the success of any party or movement in India depended entirely on the personality of its leader.

Plenary session: Preparations for tomorrow's plenary session are complete and the Janata Party is set to renew its pledge to uphold Gandhian ideology at the place where the conspiracy to kill Mahatma Gandhi was hatched by Nathuram Godse and his associates four decades ago.

Unlike at the previous plenary session at Patna, there are no welcome arches or extravagant decoration this time. The party delegates are expected to plant about 5,000 saplings at the venue. The help of experts from the Janata-ruled Karnataka has been sought for the afforestation programme.

The plenary session was originally scheduled to be held in Karnataka, but the venue was changed in view of the drought in that state.

Disagreement Over Resolution

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 May 86 p 7

[Text]

JAYAPRAKASH PATTAN (Pune dt.), May 1.

The fourth biennial conference of the Janata ended here today amidst a bitter row over the Muslim Women (protection of rights on divorce) Bill.

The difference of opinion, at one stage, plunged the party into a crisis, with Mrs. Pramila Dandavate threatening to quit if the party failed to take a clear stand against the Bill. Ranged against her was a group led by one of the general secretaries, Sayed Shahabuddin, which said the party should not interfere with the personal law of Muslims.

The president, Mr. Chandra Shekhar tried to rush through an official resolution on the subject at the fag end of the national council meeting last night, with a plea that any discussion would set off a chain of reactions prejudicial to the unity of the party. He said the Bill had been discussed for two days by the national executive, which had tried to strike a compromise to accommodate different points of view.

Mr. Chandra Shekhar's ruling was, strongly disputed by a section of the delegates who threatened to negative the Bill if a full-dress discussion was not allowed. Twenty people already sent in their amendments to the resolution, it was pointed out.

There was a mild flutter when Mr. Abbas Ali, former president of the Uttar Pradesh Janata unit, shouted at the pitch of his voice, demanding that he be heard on the issue. Several members sitting on the dais tried to pacify Mr. Abbas, who insisted that if he was not allowed to speak, he would stage a walk-out. He was supported by a sizable section of Muslim delegates.

Mr. Abbas was ultimately allowed to speak. He lashed out at Mrs. Pramila Dandavate, mover of the resolution, and thundered that Muslims were being treated as second-class citizens. At this stage, Mr. Chandra Shekhar again appealed to the members to adopt the resolution without further discussion.

Resolution not unanimous: The resolution which was adopted, but not unanimously, stopped short of taking a clear stand on Bill. On the

one hand, it termed the Bill inconsistent with dignity of women and, on the other, allowed its members in Parliament to vote according to the dictates of their conscience.

The overnight controversy continued today, with the Muslim delegates issuing a strong statement condemning Mrs. Dandavate for launching a campaign against the Shariat. They took strong exception to the manner she "misused" the opportunity to hurt the religious feelings of Muslims while moving the resolution on the Bill at the national council meeting on Wednesday. The views expressed by Mrs. Dandavate had done incalculable damage to the reputation and prestige of the party among Muslims. They urged the leadership to stop these moves which would only "alienate the minorities".

Earlier, addressing the open session, Mr. Chandra Shekhar asked party workers to assuage the feelings of the minorities who, he said, were feeling isolated.

Self-reliance 'abandoned': The four-day conference held in the historic Maawal area, overlooking the Sahyadri Hills—where Shivaji had raised his first commando unit—was highly critical of the Government for "abandoning" the nation's policy of self-reliance and "overlooking" the interests of the weaker sections and the rural masses. It said the new education policy tended to divide the children of the poor and the elite.

The party favoured "democratisation" of the ownership and control of the electronics media by setting up an autonomous corporation.

The national executive said the Centre's decision to locate the national test range at Baliapal-Bhagrai in Orissa's Balasore district. This would affect more than 100,000 people from 125 villages, and 50,000 fisherfolks from a prosperous agricultural and fishing area.—PTI & UNI

Report on Shekhar Speech

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 May 86 p 6

[Article by Padmanand Jha]

[Text]

Jayaprakash Pattan, May 1—Janata Party president Chandra Shekhar said here today that restraint needed to be exercised not only by the Government but also by the people at large when sensitive issues relating to the minorities were involved.

The restraint, he said in his address to the party's plenary session, ought to be exercised by all people irrespective of whether they belonged to the majority or the minority community.

Expressing satisfaction at the amicable passage of the compromise resolution on the Muslim Women's Bill at the National

Council meeting yesterday, Mr Chandra Shekhar expressed concern at the continued growth of fundamentalism and even communalism by different communities in the country and added that the issues should be resolved by taking into confidence leaders of the communities involved.

"Events are taking place at a rapid pace more often overtaking what we do", the Janata Party chief said while referring to the police firing at Barabanki. The need of the hour was an approach that took into consideration the sensibilities of various communities, particularly the minorities.

Minorities all over the world tend to be a little aggressive in their expression, Mr Chandra Shekhar said. If we take the "dictionary meaning" of what they say we will not be interpreting them correctly and may lead to worsening of their feeling of insecurity, he added.

Mr Chandra Shekhar suggested calling of a joint meeting of Hindu and Muslim leaders on the Ram Janma Bhumi dispute to settle the issue.

The Janata Party chief was critical of the manner in which the Government had handled the sensitive issue. Bans on the entry of Syed Shahabuddin and Mr Balraj Madhok may give an impression of neutrality, but ultimately ended up in inflaming the passions of the fundamentalists, he felt.

Commenting on the various resolutions adopted by the party, Mr Chandra Shekhar said that unless they realised this basic principle, the entire spirit of the resolutions would be lost.

Asked if he would initiate a dialogue with other opposition leaders to search for solutions to the alarming growth of fundamentalism, Mr Chandra Shekhar said it would be a difficult task indeed.

You must realise that the Opposition is not a cohesive group, he said.

/9274

CSO: 4600/1748

WEST BENGAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN FEBRUARY

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 6 May 86 p 1

[Text]

Calcutta, May 5: The West Bengal Assembly election will be held in February. The state committee of the CPI(M) has decided to advance the election date by four months in view of the scorching summer and the oncoming monsoon.

Mr Saroj Mukherjee, state secretary of the CPI(M), told newsmen here today that the party would formally place the proposal before the Left Front as well as the state government shortly.

Noting that the last Assembly election was held in June 1982, Mr Mukherjee said they "were always opposed to the idea of polls in May or June since the scorching heat and torrential rains inconvenienced both the polling personnel and the electorate."

The CPI(M) leader asserted that the state committee of the party would meet again in July to have a preliminary discussion on the nomination of party candidates and chalk out a prog-

ramme for the election preparations. The district committees will be asked to undertake a three-pronged preparation for the Assembly election—political, organisational and technical. The campaign emphasis will be on the "anti-people policies of the Congress(I) which is the main enemy."

Asked whether the election date would be further advanced to November or December in the event of a favourable result in the municipal election, Mr Mukherjee replied in the negative. "Our decision has nothing to do with the municipal polls," he observed.

Mr Mukherjee said the party had also decided to "expose the lies and slander campaign by the bourgeois press against the Left Front and the CPI(M) in particular mainly through its new morning daily, *Ganashakti*."

He said the party would also review the performance of the government, panchayats and other bodies once every month.

/9274

CSO: 4600/1751

PAPERS REPORT PASSAGE OF RIGHTS OF MUSLIM WOMEN

Debate in Lower House

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 May 86 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 6.

The controversial Bill on the rights of divorced Muslim women was adopted by the Lok Sabha in the early hours of today (Tuesday) despite the objections and fierce resistance offered by the Opposition at various stages of the marathon debate which began on Monday afternoon.

Defending the Bill strongly during his reply to the debate, the Law Minister, Mr. A. K. Sen, said it was not only a timely measure but also a necessary one to ensure the rights of the minority community under a secularism which acknowledged the existence of diverse cultures. He also announced the Government's intention to bring in a uniform civil code, giving "option to all to opt for it."

He rejected the Opposition contention that the Bill, if it became a law, would throw Muslim women to the streets after divorce. The Muslim law would take care of them, he added.

Earlier, critics of the Bill from the Opposition benches walked out of the House when it rejected their amendments for referring the measure for circulation for public opinion.

A record number of five Ministers put up defence of the Bill, while Mr. Arif Mohammed Khan, who resigned from the Ministry as a protest against the measure, was "provoked" to come forward with his views.

The five Ministers—Mr. K. C. Pant, Mr. Arun Nehru, Mr. Ram Niwas Mirdha, Mrs. Rajendra Kumari Bajpai and Mr. H. R. Bhargava—maintained that the Bill was intended to respect the views of Muslims in the matter of divorce and spoke of the need for creating trust and confidence among the minorities at this juncture.

Mr. Arif Mohammed Khan, who was not listed to participate in the debate on the Bill shook the House with his forthright denunciation of the Bill after he was repeatedly challenged by Mr. Saifuddin Soz (National Conference) to prove that the bill was unislamic.

An official amendment by Mr. Sen, who earlier piloted the Bill gave the option, through prior agreement, to the divorced couple to in-

voke the existing law (which made the former husband liable for the maintenance of his divorced wife) and not the new measure which sought to release him from this responsibility. The Janata leader, Mr. Madhu Dandavate described the amendment as an absurdity.

Tumult, excitement

Tumult and excitement, on a scale rarely witnessed in the past, marked the discussion. The measure which sought to undo the effect of the Supreme Court judgment in the Shah Bano case had caused considerable heat in the country and it was reflected in full measure in today's discussions.

The House was sharply polarised on the issue, with the treasury side defending the Bill with unusual gusto, and a large section of the Opposition taking the Government to task with a matching force for introducing a retrograde measure. The polarisation, however, did not follow the traditional dividing line for the Muslim League and the National Conference, from among the non-Congress (I) parties, were as vociferous in support of the Bill as the ruling party. The Akali party too was among those which had proclaimed support for the measure.

At the party level (outside the House) the Janata Party had taken a stand against the Bill, but allowed Mr. Shahabuddin, a party senior who had campaigned actively against the Supreme Court judgment to support the Bill. Of the two Lok Dal members, Mr. Charan Singh, former Prime Minister, was ill and did not take part in the discussion, the other supported it. The Telugu Desam, CPI (M), CPI, Asom Gana Parishad, BJP and Janata Party (with one exception) fiercely opposed the "black" Bill. The AIDMK stand was evident from the remarks of Mr. Kolandaivelu who was critical of the Bill but extended "moral support" to it at the end.

All the parties had mustered their strength. The Congress (I) in particular, took no chances while mobilising the total support for the measure, as was evident from the personal efforts of party managers to ensure compliance with the three-line whip requiring members to be present in the House to vote for the Bill.

A lot had happened outside Parliament in the recent past which made the Bill a prestige issue for the Government, in particular for the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. The reports of differences among the Congress (I) MPs in the wake of resignation by Mr. Arif Mohammed Khan from the Union Council of Ministers made the leadership cautious, particularly when prominent dissidents like the former Union Minister, Mr. Prana'o Mukherjee, were seen as trying to stir up trouble in the party on this issue.

Two Congress (I) members, Mr. Sripat Mishra, former UP Chief Minister and Mr. M. C. Daga, did not move the amendments, they had given notice of. Mr. Khan too declared in advance that he would abide by the whip. It, thus, became clear at the start of the debate that the ruling party would solidly back the Bill.

'For protecting Muslims'

Giving the history of the Bill, Mr. A. K. Sen, said the Supreme Court judgment in the Shah Bano case had caused misapprehensions in the minds of the Muslims and the Government could not be blind to it. He wanted the problem to be viewed from the standpoint of Muslims, the majority of whom preferred their personal law. "No Government worth its name could remain deaf to the demands of the minority. The Government will not deviate from the path of protecting the legitimate interests of the minorities. So long as the Congress Government is in power the interests of the minorities will be safe

in its hands," he said, commending the "proper and fair" Bill.

Tumult was in the air even before the debate started when Mr. Madhu Dandavate, (Janata) raised points of order to question the constitutionality of the Bill, to be told by the Speaker, Mr. Bas'am Jakhar, that it was for the Supreme Court to pronounce on the constitutional validity of any measure. The Speaker also overruled the point of Mr. Somenath Chatterji, CPI (M), that the Bill was violative of the Directive Principles and therefore its consideration be barred.

Under the official amendment, a divorced couple would be exempted from the operation of the new Bill, if they agree, in advance to be covered by the existing law—Sections 125 to 128 of the Criminal Procedure Code (Cr.P.C.).

The amendment read as follows—"If on the date of the first hearing of the application under Sub-Section (2) of Section 3, a divorced woman and her former husband declare by affidavit or any other declaration in writing in such form as may be prescribed, either jointly or separately, that they would prefer to be governed by the provisions of sections 125 to 128 of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1973 and file such affidavit or declaration in the court hearing the application, the Magistrate shall dispose of such application accordingly. Explanation: For the purposes of this section, "date of the first hearing of the application" means the date fixed in the summons for the attendance of the respondent to the application."

Passage in Upper House

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 9 May 86 pp 1, 7

[Text] New Delhi, 8 May--The Rajya Sabha this morning passed the controversial Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Bill after a lively but bitter debate.

The Bill was passed at a marathon sitting of the House which continued till the early hours of the morning. The discussion was punctuated with heated exchanges between the Opposition and the ruling party members. There was hardly a speech which did not evoke noisy scenes and protests.

While the ruling party fielded Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, Minister for Human Resources, Mr P. Shiv Shankar, Commerce Minister, Mr N. K. P. Salve and Mrs Najma Heptulla, the Opposition attack was launched by Mr Mustafa bin Qasem CPI(M) and ably supported by Mrs Sarojini Mahishi (J), Mr P. Upendra (T.D.) and Mr Ashwani Kumar (BJP). So effective was Mrs Mahishi's speech interspersed with quotations from Hindu scriptures and Quran that she was applauded by the Opposition benches when she sat down.

Mr Narashimha Rao's speech was gentle and persuasive while Mrs Heptulla explained the status of women under the Islamic dispensation and said they should assert their rights.

Mr Shiv Shankar said the Bill should be examined from the Muslim point of view while Mr Narasimha Rao said an overwhelming majority of Muslims was for the Bill. He said Parliament was supreme and the Supreme Court had the role of interpreting the law.

The debate could have been shortened. But the mild-mannered Deputy Chairman, Mr M. M. Jacob, failed to control members who made lengthy speeches.

Interestingly, the leader of the House, Mr V. P. Singh, was not present in the House for most part of the discussion on the Bill but came at the time of division.

Mr Pranab Mukherjee, who has been expelled from the ruling party, came to the House around 4 p.m.

Earlier, the House spent more than two-and-a-half hours discussing points of order raised by the Opposition in its bid to stall the consideration of the Bill. The latter fought at every stage. There were noisy scenes, sharp and bitter exchanges between the ruling party and the Opposition and the Chairman adjourned the House for lunch amid pandemonium.

The chairman, Mr R. Venkataraman, rejected the points of order whether the House had competence to legislate, whether the Bill was ultra vires of the Constitution and whether the issue was sub judice. Mr Venkataraman ruled that the Chair did not give a ruling on whether a proposed measure was ultra vires.

The Union Law Minister, Mr Asoke Sen, replying to points of order, said there was no case of discrimination. He said the personal law of a community had to be guaranteed under the Constitution which recognized different religious groups. The Bill was not violation of secularism. His assertion that the Opposition was politicizing the issue evoked noisy interruptions from the Opposition.

Significantly, Mr Sen was silent on the note of the Law Ministry which had defended the Supreme Court judgment in the Shah Bano case. It was Mr L. K. Advant (BJP) who made reference to the note signed by Mr Sen, Mr B. R. Bharadwaj, Minister of State, and the Law Secretary.

There were noisy protests from the Opposition when the Chairman ruled initially that the points of order could be raised only when Mr Sen had introduced his Bill for consideration. The Chairman had his way after a series of protests. When the ruling party members reacted, the Chairman told them that the Law Minister was capable of replying to the points raised by the Opposition and that the Chair was capable of giving ruling.

Mr Dipen Ghosh (CPI-M) said that if the ruling party members continued to make a noise, the Law Minister would not be allowed to speak.

Mr Ghosh said the Bill was violative of the Constitution and sought to throw married Muslim women to "wolves". Mr M. S. Gurupadaswamy (J) said it was ethically perverse and bound to be struck down by the Supreme Court--a point

made by others as well. Another point of the Janata member which received support from others was that the Attorney-General be called to give his opinion on the Bill.

After the lunch recess, the Chairman allowed a number of members to air their views on the Bill. All spoke against the Bill except Mr F. M. Khan (Ind) who pointed out that the Supreme Court had given a different judgment in a case involving a Hindu.

Text of Bill

Madras THE HINDU in English 7 May 86 p 6

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 6.

The Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Bill was passed early this morning by the Lok Sabha with two additional clauses inserted through official amendments. The following is the text of the Bill as passed by the Lower House.

A Bill to protect the rights of Muslim women who have been divorced by, or have obtained divorce from, their husbands and to provide for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto.

Be it enacted by Parliament in the Thirty-Seventh year of the Republic of India as follows:

1. (i) This Act may be called the Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act, 1986.

(ii) It extends to the whole of India except the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

2. In this act, unless the context otherwise requires

(a) "Divorced woman" means a Muslim woman who was married according to Muslim law, and has been divorced by, or has obtained divorce from, her husband in accordance with Muslim law;

(b) "Iddat period" means, in the case of a divorced woman —

(i) three menstrual courses after the date of divorce, if she is subject to menstruation;

(ii) three lunar months after her divorce, if she is not subject to menstruation; and

(iii) if she is *enceinte* at the time of her divorce, the period between the divorce and the delivery of her child or the termination of her pregnancy, whichever is earlier;

(c) "Magistrate" means a magistrate of the first class exercising jurisdiction under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 in the area where the divorced woman resides.

(d) "Prescribed" means prescribed by rules made under this Act.

Maintenance

3. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law for the time being in force, a divorced woman shall be entitled to —

(a) a reasonable and fair provision and maintenance to be made and paid to her within the iddat period by her former husband;

(b) where she herself maintains the children born to her before or after her divorce, a reasonable and fair provision and maintenance to be made and paid by her former husband for a period of two years from the respective dates of birth of such children;

(c) an amount equal to the sum of mahr or dower agreed to be paid to her at the time of her marriage according to Muslim law; and

(d) all the properties given to her before or at the time of marriage or after her marriage by her relatives or friends or the husband or any relatives of the husband or his friends.

(2) Where a reasonable and fair provision and maintenance or the amount of mahr or dower due has not been made or paid or the properties referred to in clause (d) of sub-section (1) have not been delivered to a divorced woman on her divorce, she or any one duly authorised by her may, on her behalf, make an application to a magistrate for an order for payment of such provision and maintenance, mahr or dower or the delivery of properties, as the case may be.

(3) Where an application has been made under sub-section (2) by a divorced woman, the magistrate may, if he is satisfied that —

(—) her husband having sufficient means, has failed or neglected to make or pay her within the iddat period a reasonable and fair provision and maintenance for her and the children; or

(b) the amount equal to the sum of mahr or dower has not been paid or that the properties referred to in clause (d) of sub-section (1) have not been delivered to her.

Make an order, within one month of the date of the filing of the application, directing her former husband to pay such reasonable and fair provision and maintenance to the divorced woman as he may determine as fit and proper having regard to the needs of the divorced woman, the standard of life enjoyed by her during her marriage and the means of her former husband or, as the case may be, for the payment of such mahr or dower or the delivery of such properties referred to in clause (d) of sub-section (1) to the divorced woman:

Provided that if the magistrate finds it impracticable to dispose of the application within the said period, he may, for reasons to be recorded by him dispose of the application after the said period.

Warrant for money

(4) If any person against whom an order has been made under sub-section (3) fails without sufficient cause to comply with the order, the magistrate may issue a warrant for levying the amount of maintenance or mahr or dower due in the manner provided for levying fines under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973, and may sentence such person, for the whole or part of any amount remaining unpaid after the execution of the warrant to imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year or until payment if sooner made, subject to such person being heard in defence and the said sentence being imposed according to the provisions of the said code.

4. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the foregoing provisions of this Act or in any other law for the time being in force, where a magistrate is satisfied that a divorced woman has not remarried and is not able to maintain herself after the iddat period, he may make an order directing such of her relatives as would be entitled to inherit her property on her death according to Muslim law to pay such reasonable and fair maintenance to her as he may determine fit and proper, having regard to the needs of the divorced woman, the standard of life enjoyed by her during her marriage and the means of such relatives and such maintenance shall be payable by such relatives in the proportions in which they would inherit her property and at such periods as he may specify in his order;

Provided that if any such relative is unable to pay his or her share of the maintenance ordered by the magistrate on the ground of his or her not having the means to pay the same, the magistrate may, on proof of such inability being furnished to him, order that the share of such relatives in the maintenance ordered by him be paid by such of the other relatives as may appear to the magistrate to have the means of paying the same in such proportions as the magistrate may think fit to order.

(2) Where a divorced woman is unable to maintain her self and she has no relatives as mentioned in sub-section (1) or such relatives or any one of them have not enough means to pay the maintenance ordered by the magistrate or the other relatives have not the means to pay the shares of those relatives whose shares have been ordered by the magistrate to be paid by such other relatives under the proviso to sub-section (1), the magistrate may, by order, direct the State Wakf Board established under Section 9 of the Wakf Act, 1954 or under any other law for the time being in force in a State functioning in the area in which the woman resides, to pay such maintenance as determined by him under sub-section (1) or, as the case may be, to pay the shares of such of the relatives who are unable to pay, at such periods as he may specify in his order.

Option available

4A. If, on the date of the first hearing of the application under sub-section (2) of section 3, a divorced woman and her former husband declare by af-

fidavit or any other declaration in writing in such form as may be prescribed, either jointly or separately, that they would prefer to be governed by the provisions of sections 125 to 128 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 and file such affidavit or declaration in the court hearing the application, the magistrate shall dispose of such application accordingly.

Explanation: For the purposes of this section, "date of the first hearing of the application" means the date fixed in the summons for the attendance of the respondent to the application.

5. "(2) In particular and without prejudice to the foregoing power, such rules may provide for —

(a) the form of the affidavit or other declaration in writing to be filed under section 4A;

(b) the procedure to be followed by the magistrate in disposing of applications under this Act, including the serving of notices to the parties to such applications, dates of hearing of such applications and other matters;

(c) any other matter which is required to be or may be prescribed."

5. "(3) (1) The Central Government may, by notification in the official gazette, make rules for carrying out the purposes of this Act.

Every rule made under this Act shall be laid as soon as may be after it is made before each House of Parliament, while it is in session. For a total period of 30 days which may be comprised in one session or in two or more successive sessions, and if, before the expiry of the session immediately following the session or the successive sessions aforesaid, both Houses agree in making any modification in the rule or both Houses agree that the rule should not be made, the rule shall thereafter have effect only in such modified form or be of no effect, as the case may be; so however, that any such modification or annulment shall be without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done under that rule.

"6. Every application by a divorced woman under Section 125 or under Section 127 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 pending before a magistrate on the commencement of this Act shall, notwithstanding anything contained in that code and subject to the provisions of section 4A of this Act, be disposed of by such magistrate in accordance with the provisions of this Act."—UNI

Satisfaction in Congress-I

Madras THE HINDU in English 7 May 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, May 6.

Even though some 50 Congress (I) members did not participate in the Lok Sabha vote—taken early this morning after a marathon debate—on the controversial Bill on the rights of divorced Muslim women, the ruling party regards it as a demonstration of solidarity with their Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. This is because of the recent developments within the Congress (I) with the dissidents of various brands using the "black" Bill, to give expression to their feelings against the "deterioration" in organisational functioning or the style of the leadership.

For this reason, the leadership took extra precautions to mobilise, not only the total strength of the Congress (I), but also of its allies. This

was evident from Mr. Gandhi's plea to the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, for the backing of the AIADMK, which was opposed to the Bill. The AIADMK, finally, extended its "moral support" to the measure, which it regarded un-Islamic.

29 absent: There is satisfaction in the ruling party over the voting tally—372 for and 54 against. According to a Congress (I) spokesman, only 29 of their members were absent, mostly due to unavoidable reasons like illness and absence from the country and there was no wilful defiance of the three-line whip. A grave view is, therefore, is not being taken of the absenteeism.

As a matter of fact, the number of absentees was larger than was officially conceded by the

ruling party. In a house of 543, excluding the Speaker, the Congress (I) has 412 members while the non-Congress (I) supporters of the Bill—the AIADMK, the National Conference, the Muslim League, one member each of the Lok Dal, the Janata party and an unattached member—accounted for a total of 20, if not more. The vote in favour of the Bill should not have been below the 432 mark, but it was 372. There were, thus, a minimum of 60 absentees. Even if the non-Congress (I) supporters of the Bill (with a total of 20) had mustered nearly half of their strength (10 or so), the number of Congress (I) members, who did not vote, is 50.

That the Opposition parties which fiercely resisted the Bill at various stages of the debate, could mobilise only a little more than half their combined strength was no matter of satisfaction to the Congress (I). As an Opposition representative put it, they had not taken the type of precautions, elaborately planned by the Congress (I), there being no whip in some cases. In the prevailing euphoria, the Congress (I), however, tended to gloss over the discrepancy in the number of its absentees.

Clashes, interruptions: The discussion on the Bill lasted 13 hours as against eight, originally set apart for it. The Government had made it clear in advance its keenness to have the Bill adopted in one go. As a result, the debate that began shortly before 1 p.m. yesterday concluded at 2.45 a.m. today. But neither the odd nature of the timing nor the length of the discussion robbed it of the excitement. There were clashes and interruptions galore, heated exchanges and spells of pandemonium.

Departing from the original schedule, the

Rajya Sabha will take up consideration of the Bill on Thursday, not tomorrow. This was because the upper House could not be formally informed of the passage of the Bill by the Lok Sabha.

Partly because the Bill got mixed up with the internal tensions of the Congress (I), and partly because a finality was considered necessary to end the uncertainty, caused by the controversy on it, the Government was anxious to have it placed on the statute book as early as possible. It opposed the idea of a reference to a joint Committee of Parliament or of seeking the advisory opinion of the Supreme Court.

League highly elated: Apart from the Congress (I), the other party highly elated by the passage of the Bill is the Muslim League. Its leader, Mr. G. M. Banatwala, described the legislation as historic. According to him, the Bill provided for summary enforcement of the Shariat without codifying it.

PM not present

PTI, UNI report:

Significantly, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who was not seen in the House throughout the debate came in at 2355 hours (Monday) when the Law Minister had just got up to reply.

Through another official amendment, the Government accepted in part the contention of Mr. G. M. Banatwala (IUMI) that mehr or dower for the divorced women should be an amount agreed to at the time of marriage or "at any time thereafter", inserting the last phrase in the original clause.

/9274

CSO: 4600/1758

BRIEFS

TRADE DEFICIT--New Delhi, 7 May--The trade deficit for 1985-86 could reach Rs. 7,000 crores to Rs. 7,500 crores, the commerce minister, Mr Shiv Shanker, said today while stressing the need for stepping up exports and controlling avoidable imports during the seventh plan. The minister, who was addressing the parliamentary consultative committee, maintained that non-oil exports did not do too badly. The growth rate was 8.2 per cent in April-December 1985 compared to non-oil exports during the corresponding period of the previous year. The imports at Rs. 13,867 crores, on the other hand, showed an increase of 18 per cent. The committee discussed export prospects of plantation crops, agricultural and processed foods. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 8 May 86 p 9] /9274

INVITATION TO GANDHI--Mexico City, 5 May (UPI)--The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, is among the five world leaders invited by President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico to a summit scheduled to be held on August 6 here. The meeting has been called to promote world disarmament and to prevent a "nuclear holocaust," the presidential palace announced yesterday. Besides the Indian prime minister, the leaders invited to the meeting include the Argentine President, Mr Raul Alfonsin, the Swedish Prime Minister, Mr Ingvar Carlsson, the former Tanzanian President, Mr Julius Nyerere, and the Greek Prime Minister, Mr Andreas Papandreu. The "Group of Six" was formed in May 1984, to promote dialogue between leaders of the two superpowers for nuclear disarmament and to reduce arms stockpiles. During the present international situation, it is even more necessary to continue efforts aimed at encouraging political communication and...the renewal of bilateral negotiations between the two great powers," the statement said. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 6 May 86 p 6] /9274

POSSIBLE MUKHERJEE PARTY--Calcutta, 4 May--The former Union finance minister, Mr Pranab Mukherjee, who was expelled from the Congress, today did not rule out the possibility of his forming a new party, although he had no such plans "immediately." Right now, he told a news conference, he planned to tour the entire country, "to tell Congressmen of the improper treatment meted out to me." Mr Mukherjee said, "I have gone through the Congress constitution and found that a member can be expelled without the prior issue of a show-cause notice if only he contests against an official candidate in an election. But since I did not do that my expulsion baffles me." [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 5 May 86 p 9] /9274

INDIA, SOVIET FESTIVALS--Calcutta, 4 May (PTI)--The festivals of India and the Soviet Union will be held in these two countries some time in 1987. The external affairs minister, Mr B. R. Bhagat, told a state convention of the Friends of the Soviet Union here today. Tracing the history of Indo-Soviet friendship and co-operation, Mr Bhagat said India received invaluable understanding and help from the Soviet Union in its efforts to build a modern and self-reliant country. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 5 May 86 p 6] /9274

PAKISTAN BORDER ACTIVITY--Jammu, 4 May (PTI)--Pakistan has intensified military activities along the Jammu and Kashmir border by constructing new defence channels, airstrips, military headquarters and roads, according to intelligence sources. The sources said three new airstrips have been constructed at Muzafraabad, Mirpur and Dhamni, near Rawalakot in the Pak-held area of the Jammu and Kashmir state. These airstrips have been equipped with powerful and sophisticated radar system. The dhamni Airstrip, the sources said, was constructed under the supervision of U.S. defence experts for sophisticated aircraft like F-16, acquired from the U.S. The entire Dhamni village near Rawalkote had been taken over by Pakistan military and Air Force authorities. Meanwhile, the security measures in Jammu and Kashmir have been further tightened and strict vigil is being maintained in the state after the reports of terrorists infiltration into the state, following the police action in Punjab. Informed sources said terrorist groups have infiltrated into Jammu and Kashmir "with a definite plan of sabotage and subversion," taking shelter in some places of worship in the rural areas of the state. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 5 May 86 p 1] /9274

NEW ZAIRE AMBASSADOR--New Ambassador to Republic of Zaire Velchika Kalubye presented his credentials to President Zail Singh at the Rashtrapati Bhavan on Friday, reports UNI. Welcoming the Ambassador, the President referred to the tensions in southern Africa and said India had always extended full moral, material and diplomatic support to the just struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia. He expressed his confidence that the national liberation movement in South Africa would triumph soon. He also assured India's continued support to the developmental efforts of African nations. Mr Kalubye said the people of Zaire admired the success achieved by India in various fields and the country's role in the non-aligned movement. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 3 May 86 p 5] /9274

CSO: 4600/1761

WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX INCREASES OVER 5 PERCENT

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 5 Mar 86 p 22

[Text] Economic Service--The Statistics Office of the Markazi Bank of the Islamic Republic of Iran published a brief report of the month of Bahman of 1364 [21 Jan - 19 Feb 1986] wholesale price indices.

According to this report, the wholesale price index in Iran for the month of Bahman jumped 3.1 percent compared with the previous month. This figure shows 8.9 percent increase in comparison with the same period of the previous year. This index shows an average of 5.3 percent increase for the past eleven months as compared with the same period of the previous year.

In addition, the report adds that the seasonal increase in the price of fruits and vegetables along with the increase in the prices of cereals and other of their by-products as well as livestock contributed the most in pushing up the wholesale price index. Likewise, the price of the following items: Grain seeds, dairy products, eggs, red meat, chocolate and candy, olives, tobacco leaves [due to increase in purchasing price from the farmers], hide and gut, leather, carpet, printing and photocopy paper, water air-cooler, lightbulbs and tractors all took an upswing. On the other hand, the price of some textiles took a downswing.

As compared with the Bahman of last year, the price indices for foodstuff and livestock were up by 12 percent, industrial raw material was up by 15 percent, tobacco and beverages were up 63 percent, hide and leather and their derivatives were up 32 percent, lumber was up 20 percent, paper, cardboard and building supplies were up 6 percent each, basic metals were up 5 percent, metal goods were up 3 percent, machinery and transport vehicles were up 4 percent and agricultural and livestock products were up 13 percent.

At the end of the report it was indicated that: The indices for the prices of mineral fuels and their derivatives, minerals, chemicals and petrochemicals, clothing and rubber products were relatively stable and did not record any significant change compared with the same period of last year.

13182

CSO: 4640/243

IRAN

HEAVY INDUSTRIES PROJECTS FOR 1986 DETAILED

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 24 Apr 86 p 15

[Interview with Minister of Heavy Industries Behzad Nabavi by IRNA; date and place not specified]

[Text] The minister of heavy industries announced: To increase the sources of currency revenues, agreements for the sale of heavy and light vehicles as well as the exchange of heavy machinery parts have been signed with some countries.

In an interview with IRNA, Engineer Behzad Nabavi said: On the basis of the 1364 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986] Iran-Turkey protocol, the export of about 3,000 sedans to Turkey has been agreed to, 500 orders for which have been registered so far. Also, in the area of exporting 500 sedans to Bulgaria, credit has been opened.

He added: Some other countries have also expressed interest in working out transactions involving minibuses and trucks made in Iran, which will improve the trade balance between Iran and those countries.

According to Mr Nabavi, bartering between Iran and other countries for spare parts and goods is another possibility for reducing the currency expenditures and providing machinery spare part needs, particularly in the automobile manufacturing sector.

In this connection, he explained: With regard to the import of the needed spare parts of a product from abroad, another part or the completed product will be given to the seller. Such transactions will be implemented between Iran and Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey mainly in the area of heavy machinery.

Concerning the long-term effects of the decrease in the price of oil and currency revenues of the country on the production structure of heavy industries, Engineer Nabavi said: Based on the timetable plans for heavy industries, it was decided that a number of the products of this sector which were severely dependent and require high currency expenditures would be put out of production and, in exchange, parent and fundamental industries which feed other factories would be given priority.

He added: Parts of this program have been implemented so far, but the decrease in the price of oil will expedite the implementation of this program, to place through necessary changes, the resources of that group of factories that have had severe production declines in recent years at the disposal of the more economical units to increase their production capacities.

In regards to the short-term effects of the price of oil on the industrial projects of this ministry, the minister of heavy industries said: In this area, attempts have been made to rely more on parent and essential industries as far as possible to keep the self-sufficiency projects of [the Ministry of] Heavy Industries from being affected by the decrease in the price of oil.

He added: From the very beginning of the fluctuations in the price of oil, that is, about five months ago, the Ministry of Heavy Industries devised special programs to confront this crisis and the production units were placed in the framework of a priority plan. Based on this plan, turneries, blacksmith shops, machine manufacturing shops, and some other units which are among the parent and self-sufficient industries will be given more attention.

In connection with placing the national industries at the service of the war, Engineer Nabavi said: In 1365 [21 March 1986-20 March 1987] attempts are being made, with the presence of industrial forces on the fronts, to put the ideas and brains of these forces in the service of the war. Also, it is anticipated that more production lines will be changed this year to provide for the needs of the front.

10,000

CSO: 4640/307

GOVERNMENT WORKERS RETIREMENT, LAYOFF BILL BROUGHT TO MAJLIS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 15 Mar 86 p 19

[Text] KEYHAN Political Service--At Thursday's open session of the Islamic Consultative Assembly [Majlis], the retirement and layoff procedure bill that will affect government workers, municipal workers, bank employees, and employees of companies and organizations which are nominally included by the law, were presented to the Majlis. In the beginning of this session, the constitution of the Committees of the Islamic Revolution [CIRI] was put forth and passed with few changes. Also, a few plans and bills, which were sent by the Council of Guardians, were evaluated and discussed by the representatives.

Following the pre-agenda speeches of Thursday and recitation of the representatives' comments to the executive officials of the country, the Majlis entered into agenda.

Thereafter, the second round of debate on the Constitution of the Committee of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, was put forward and discussed.

Alavi, the reporter of the special commission, gave a brief explanation on this bill and said that this bill was discussed in numerous meetings with the representatives from the Ministries of Interior, Guards Corps and Information and was approved after some changes.

He said that during the second round of debate on this bill, at the special commission, the legal platform of the committees was the subject of discussion. The issue was, under which responsible organization would the committee function? After long debates it was decided that the legal platform of the Committee of the Islamic Revolution of Iran should fall under the supreme command of the leader, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, and it was approved as such.

Then, Article I of this bill, according to which the CIRI is a law enforcement agency under the leadership of the supreme command and the supervision of the Ministry of Interior, was discussed.

Movahedi-Savoji suggested that the phrase "under the supreme command of the leader (Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces)" should be deleted.

He said: "if the Commander-in-Chief of the committees is to be appointed by the imam, then it's not clear if the minister of interior can be questioned about the activities of the committees or not. Also, if we want these committees to perform well and to be responsible before the imam and the Majlis, then this phrase "under the leadership of the supreme command" must be deleted.

Musavi-Tabrizi, speaking in opposition to this view said: "Right now, the aspect of theocracy is covered in various organizations by appointment of representatives and the Council of Guardians has approved this procedure. Of course, we cannot set responsibility guidelines [for the imam] but if it is acceptable to the leader [the imam], then, in addition to principle 110 we can delegate power and if it's only acceptable [by the imam] there is no problem."

Hoseyni-Shahrudi, speaking in agreement said: "The theocratic ruler has all the power and can interfere whenever necessary. This is not to be viewed as limiting the power of the religious guardian-jurisprudent. Therefore, there should not be a lack of coordination. The Interior minister, who is responsible for security, must be given the tools with which to work. Let's not create discord or disharmony between the committee, police, and Gendarmerie!!!"

Then, the reporter of the special commission and representative of the Interior Ministry explained some points in regard to Article I and stated their views accordingly.

Thereafter, Movahedi-Savoji's proposal about the deletion of the phrase "under the leadership of the supreme command (Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces)" was put to a vote and was rejected.

Subsequently, Article I was read and put to vote and was approved in the following format:

Article I--The Committee of the Islamic Revolution is a law enforcement organization under leadership of the supreme command (Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces) and under the supervision of the Interior Ministry. Its objective is the implementation of security measures, safeguarding law and order in the country, and protecting the Islamic Revolution of Iran and its achievements within the framework of this law.

Thereafter, Article II of this bill was read and discussed. Since there were no suggestions in regard to this article, it was put to a vote and passed in the following format:

Article II--The missions and duties of the Committee of the Islamic Revolution consist of the following:

- A) Waging lawful battle against elements and movements that would undermine the country's security, in coordination with the Information Ministry.
- B) Cooperating with the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps (as deemed necessary by the Security Council) in waging a lawful struggle against agents and courses of events aimed at sabotage, overthrowing the system of the Islamic Republic or measures against the Islamic Revolution of Iran.
- C) Reporting incoming intelligence news to the Information Ministry and carrying out missions entrusted to the said committee.
- D) Waging lawful fight against elements engaged in procuring, distributing, and consuming narcotics, or procuring and distributing forbidden goods, and committing the religiously reprehensible acts as mentioned in the Islamic punishment law.

Amendment: The Gendarmerie and police are duty-bound to cooperate with the CIRI when the need arises, in carrying out these tasks. Character and type of cooperation is to be determined by the Security Council.

- E) Cooperation with the Gendarmerie to safeguard and control the borders of the country.

Amendment: Character and degree of cooperation will be determined by the country's Security Council.

- F) Acting in conjunction with other forces [armed] to collect illegal weapons, ammunition, military and law enforcement communication and other devices.
- G) Surveillance of public places in the course of carrying out entrusted missions.

Amendment 1: Committee of the Islamic Revolution, in carrying out missions specified in above articles, will act as the steward for the judiciary branch.

Amendment 2: Committee of the Islamic Revolution in carrying out missions related to the above articles will, per direction of the country's Security Council or the local security council, employ Revolutionary Guards Corps and mobilization of the oppressed personnel. The pertinent executive regulations to be prepared by the Interior Ministry and Revolution Guards Corps and ratified by the Supreme Defense Council.

- H) Necessary cooperation in matters of relief aid with other responsible organizations in time of disasters or unexpected events.
- I) Necessary cooperation with the Army and the Revolution Guards Corps. The necessity and nature of cooperation to be defined by the Supreme Defense Council.
- J) Ideological, political, military, and law enforcement training and indoctrination of the guards of the Committee for the Islamic Revolution in order to enable them to carry out their designated missions.

Then Article III was read and presented for discussion.

Seyyed Reza Akrami and Dr Hadi suggested to replace the word "Chief" of the Revolutionary Committee with the word "Commander-in-Chief of the Committee" in this article.

Movahedi-Savoji and Hamidzadeh spoke for and against this suggestions and the reporter of the commission and the government's representative explained some provisions of this article. Then this article was put to a vote and ratified as follows:

Article II--Commander-in-Chief of the Committee of the Islamic Revolution is to be suggested by the Interior Minister and appointed by the order of the leadership (Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces).

Amendment 1: Commander-in-Chief of the CIRI, after the confirmation by the interior minister, will appoint someone as his deputy. The deputy will assist him in carrying out his duties and serve as commander in his absence.

Amendment 2: In localities where the Committee of the Islamic Revolution is not present, per the recommendation of the Security Council, other functionaries

or agents of the judiciary organs will perform and carry out the duties and entrusted missions.

Thereafter, Article IV was read and presented for discussion. Since there were no recommendations about this article, it was put to a vote and passed in the following format:

Article IV--The Chief of the Islamic Revolution Committee, in order to carry out his lawful duties, can establish the following offices:

- A) The Office of Legal Affairs--To conduct the affairs of the Committees of the Islamic Revolution.
- B) Secretariat or Office of Administrative Affairs--To conduct the affairs of the Office of the Commander-in-Chief and Administrative Affairs.
- C) Office of Inspection and Investigation--To oversee and inspect the activities of the Islamic Revolution Committees. To evaluate the qualifications of personnel for appointments and also to investigate complaints and their follow-ups.
- D) Public Relations Office--To create good will between the Committee for the Islamic Revolution and the public. Also, to present achievements of the committees to the public and liaison with the mass media.

Article V was then read and presented for discussion.

Seyyed Abolhasan Musavi suggested that the words "logistical" and "personnel" be omitted and replaced by their Farsi equivalent words. Seyyed Reza Akrami and Karimi-Marandi spoke against and for this change. The reporter of the commission gave some explanations in this regard. Musavi's suggestion was put to a vote and was accepted. Thereafter, Articles V through X were read and each was put to a vote separately and approved.

Article V--The Director General of the Islamic Revolution Committee will have the following deputies:

- 1) Deputy of Intelligence and Operations who will be in charge of planning and programming of intelligence and operational activities.

- 2) Deputy of Planning and Programming who will be in charge of reviewing, devising regulations, organizational charts, planning, and budgeting affairs of the Islamic Revolution Committee.
- 3) Deputy of Support Activities who will be in charge of programming and implementation of all support and logistical activities in the areas of procurement, distribution, maintenance, and transport.
- 4) Deputy of Training Activities who will be in charge of political, military, and disciplinary indoctrination.
- 5) Financial and Administrative Deputy who will be in charge of admissions, employment, transfers, accounting and financial affairs, evaluations, promotions, and implementation of relief services for employees.

Article VI--Chain of command in the committee of the Islamic Revolution is as follows:

Commander-in-Chief
Provincial Command
Township Command
Watch Post Command

Article VII--Membership Criteria:

- A) Belief in and practical dedication to the Islamic principles and the Islamic system and adherence to the Islamic code of conduct.
- B) Belief in and practical dedication to the rule of theocracy.
- C) Nonadherence or affiliation to the political parties, organizations, and similar groups.
- D) Good repute and clear record.
- E) Ability to read and write.

Amendment: Commanders and managers of the committee should be familiar with politico-ideological matters also and possess adequate management and commanding skills.

Article VIII--Crimes of the committee members related to special military or law enforcement duties will be tried in military courts. General crimes or crimes committed as steward of the judiciary will be tried by the civil courts.

Article IX--Within 9 months of the approval of this article, the government is obligated to present to the Islamic Consultative Assembly the necessary regulations governing recruitment, employment benefits such as salary, housing, health insurance while in service and after retirement, and disability benefits.

Article X--Executive, disciplinary, and organizational regulations of the Islamic Revolutionary Committee, based on this law, is to be drawn up by the Interior Ministry in cooperation with the Administrative and Employment Affairs Organization with 6 months from the date of the approval of this law which will be ratified by the council of Ministers.

Then Article XI was read and presented for discussion. Fazel Harandi suggested that this article be omitted. The reporter of the commission gave some explanations and representative of the government Seyyed Reza Akrami and Musavi Tabrizi spoke for and against this proposal. Finally, the suggestion to delete Article XI was put to a vote and passed.

Legal Plan of the Press

Other agenda of the session was the legal plan of the press which was returned by the Council of Guardians which was presented for discussion and debate.

Ali Nazari, the reporter of the Guidance and Mass Media Commission, gave a brief explanation about the reforms implemented in this plan by the commission and said: "The legal plan of the press which was ratified by the Majlis on 14 Aban 1364 [5 Nov 85] and submitted to this commission by the Council of Guardians for further evaluation, was studied and debated by the commission in the presence of the honorable members of the Council of Guardians. As a result of this study, necessary changes were made in Article XXI and Amendment 1 of Articles XXX and XXXIII."

Then Article XXI and Amendment 1 of Articles XXX and XXXIII were presented, and Musavi Tabrizi and Zeynolabedin Qorbani spoke against and for these changes, respectively.

Following the debate, these articles were put to a vote separately and approved as follows. Article XXI was corrected to read:

Article XXI--Directors of press and printing establishments in Tehran and other cities are duty-bound to send two copies of each and every number of their publications to the Islamic Guidance Ministry, free of charge.

Amendment 1 of Article XXX was corrected to read as follows:

Amendment 1: In the above cases, the plaintiff (whether real or legal) can sue for damages resulting from publishing the said statements. The matter is to be reviewed by the appropriate court and the court is duty-bound to study the complaint and make a suitable ruling.

Article XXXIII was corrected to read as follows:

Article XXXIII--If the name or the logo of another publication, even though it may be published with minor changes, is used in another publication creating misconception in the minds of the readers, the printing of such publication is to be halted and the party (parties) involved is guilty in the eye of the religious judge. Pursuing the matter legally leading to the conviction and sentencing of the guilty party is dependent upon the private plaintiff.

Disciplinary Regulations Bill of Universities' Scientific Council

Then the bill regarding the disciplinary regulations governing the activities of the scientific committees of universities and higher education institutions, which was returned by the Council of Guardians, was presented.

The reporter for the Culture and Higher Education Commission gave some explanations about the commission's revised version of this bill. He said this bill, which was returned by the honorable Council of Guardians after consultations with that council, regarding the addition of Amendments 2 to Article IV was accepted by the said council and it is now being presented to the Majlis. Then the commission's revised version was put to a vote and approved as follows:

(The following amendment was added to Article IV as Amendment 2)

Amendment 2--The decision of the Review Committee will not prevent a Scientific Committee member from seeking assistance from legal authorities.

The Legal Plan for the Amendment of Article VI of the Urban Land Law

At the end of the session, the legal plan for the revision of Article VI of the urban land law which was passed on 27 Esfand 1360 [18 Mar 82] by the Islamic Consultative Assembly, was presented for the second round of debate.

Abbasi-Fard, the reporter for the Housing and Urban Development Commission, gave a brief explanation on this plan. He said: "This plan, which was

referred to this commission, was reviewed on 8 Bahman 1364 [28 Jan 86] session of the commission and the revised version passed after proper investigation and discussion of the presented suggestions.

Thereafter, the single-article plan was read and put to a vote. It was passed as follows:

The Legal Plan for the Amendment of Article VI of the Urban Land Law as Approved by Majlis on 18 March 1982

Single Article--The following amendment as Amendment 2 is affixed to Article VI of the Urban Land Law and is to be implemented upon passage. The existing amendment to this bill is to remain in the text as Amendment 1.

Amendment 2--The holders of such ordinary land deeds in the war-stricken regions who have not been able to file for proper records and obtain confirmation for their ordinary deeds during designated times, due to the prevailing conditions in these regions, even though their land may have been taken over by the government, will be given the opportunity to file and obtain confirmation from proper judicial authorities for their ordinary deeds within 2 months after announcement to this effect by the Urban Land Organization. Such an opportunity or grace period will be contingent upon an announced confirmation by the Interior Ministry, when the condition in each city has returned to normal. Cities covered under this amendment will be designated by the Interior Ministry. Those whose land has been taken over by the government and do not own a home or a piece of land in the city limits or suburbs, will be given a suitable parcel of land by the government from the possessed parcels. If the said plots are designated for special plans and projects and cannot be returned to the original owner, a comparable replacement will be designated and transferred to the owner.

The open session of Majlis ended at 11:35 a.m.; the next session to be held at 8:00 a.m. tomorrow.

Our parliamentary correspondent reports that during today's session, the receipt of a bill submitted by the government was announced. This is the retirement and layoff procedure bill governing government workers, municipal and bank employees, and employees of organizations and companies which are nominally included by the law.

13182/13046
CSO: 4640/243

DISCUSSIONS ON PRESIDENTIAL DUTIES, RESPONSIBILITIES

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 24 Apr 86 pp 14-15

[Excerpt] Following the agenda, the examination of the presidential duties and responsibilities in the Islamic Republic of Iran was continued and several other issues were examined, as follows:

Part 3: Regulating Relations Among the Three Branches

Article 14. In implementing Articles 57 and 113 of the Constitution, in order to establish a proper, logical relation and regulate relations among the three branches, an advisory council entitled the council for regulating the relations between the three branches will be formed of the following authorities:

- A. The president, as the chairman of the council, regulator of the relations among the three branches, and head of the executive branch;
- B. The chief justice, as the head of the judicial branch;
- C. The speaker of the Majlis, as the head of the legislative branch.

The meetings of this council will be held once a month in the presidential office. If necessary, upon the request of any member and at the invitation of the president, emergency sessions will be held.

Part 4: Elections and Referendums

Paragraph 1: Elections

Article 15. During the war and military occupation of the country, if elections are not possible in one or several electoral zones, the president will call for a halt of elections in the occupied areas or the entire country, stating the time period in writing to the Majlis for their decision.

Note: The Ministry of the Interior is responsible for submitting a detailed, documented report concerning the instances of elections not being possible to the president prior to the elections.

Article 16. If in the course of the elections the situation mentioned in Article 13 of this law should occur in some areas, the Ministry of the Interior will immediately stop the elections in those areas upon the approval of the Council of Guardians.

The Ministry of the Interior is responsible for immediate submission to the president the necessary explanatory report concerning the halt in the elections during the specified time, along with the approval of the Council of Guardians, in accordance with Article 13 of this law.

Paragraph 2: Referendums

Article 17. In the implementation of Article 59 and the end of Article 131 of the Constitution, the president may, in crucial economic, political, social and cultural matters, submit a request for public opinion (referendum) by bringing the documented subject to the Majlis for a decision.

Article 18. The president is responsible for signing the result of the referendum and for notifying the officials within five days after the legal stages are taken and he is reported to. Otherwise, once this period has ended, the result of the referendum must be implemented.

Part 5: Foreign and International Relations

Article 19. Iranian ambassadors abroad will be introduced to the president for his signed approval upon the proposal of the minister of foreign affairs and the ratification of the Cabinet. The president is responsible for signing the credentials of the ambassador within five days after he is introduced.

Note: The credentials of the ambassadors of other countries will be submitted to the president for admission upon the approval of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the agreement of the Cabinet.

Mr Yazdi proposed the omission of Article 14 and, after reading Article 57 of the Constitution, said: Relations among the three branches are part of the responsibilities of the president, whereas this Article proposes the regulation of relations contrary to the Constitution. Mr Savoji opposed the omission proposal and said: This council is an advisory council which is necessary and valuable if it includes the opinion of the president. As this Article mentions, if the president were to invite other branches and they were to refuse, what would happen then? Therefore, this advisory council must be included in the law.

Mr Kashani supported the omission and, referring to the need for the president to regulate the branches, said: One of the problems at the present is the existence of such things as centers and councils in various areas of the country which have no work and which sometimes take steps that drag other organizations behind them and cause problems, such as the revolution headquarters, the agriculture council, and the economic council, whose decisions are contrary to the Constitution. This advisory council is also contrary to the Constitution.

The representative of the Office of the Prime Minister provided some details opposing this proposal and analyzed the duties of the advisory council in the aforementioned article and considered its operations in creating unity in management, in national planning, and in executive and legislative procedures to be effective.

The representative of the president, providing explanations, announced his agreement with the proposal and said: With this Article, we must not restrict the good course that exists, create a problem, and limit the initiatives that the president can take in accordance with the Constitution in regulating the relations among the three branches.

The spokesman of the special committee provided explanations and considered Article 14 to be beneficial in improving relations between the three branches.

The proposal to omit Article 14 was put to a vote and ratified.

Then, Article 15 was read, with no proposals being made, put to a vote and ratified.

Mr Zavvareh'i stated his amending proposal in regards to Article 16 as follows:

Article 16. If in the course of holding elections for the Majlis, due to the occurrence of war, the elections are affected in one or several electoral zones, the Ministry of the Interior, with the approval of the Council of Guardians, will immediately submit a report to the president justifying the halt to the elections, to be acted upon in accordance with Article 15 of this law.

This proposal was put to a vote after the discussions of the opponents and supporters as well as the explanation of the representatives of the Office of the Prime Minister and presidential offices and was ratified.

After its recess, the Majlis was chaired by Mr Mohammad Yazdi, the deputy speaker of the Majlis. The proposal to omit Article 17 was raised by Mr 'Alvitabar and, following opposing and supporting views, was put to a vote and ratified.

There were no proposals for Article 18, which was put to a vote after being read and ratified.

In Article 19, a number of representatives proposed the omission of the phrase, "The president is responsible for signing . . . within five days." This proposal was put to a vote after the statements of Messers Foad Karimi and Badamchian, as the opponent and supporter, and the representatives of the Office of the Prime Minister and the Presidential Office, as the opponent and the supporter, but was not put to a vote. The continuation of the discussion was postponed to the session on Sunday.

IRAN

WOMEN TO GET TRAINING FOR COMBAT OPERATIONS

Details Given by Chief of Women's Corps

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 16 Apr 86 p 19

[Interview with Chief of the Women's Mobilization of the Guards Corps Da'ipur; date and place not specified]

[Text] The chief of the women's mobilization of the Guards Corps announced in a press, radio and television interview that from 30 Farvardin [20 April], 2,000 military training centers for the sisters will be created throughout the country.

According to an ETTELA'AT report, Sister Da'ipur, the chief of the women's mobilization of the Guards Corps, said in the beginning of this interview: In the beginning of the establishment of the army of 20 million, the women's mobilization was also established. After the statements of the imam that "All strata must get military training" and that the women's mobilization must confront this issue actively, we decided that to ensure the combat readiness of the sisters, considering the large groups of sisters coming to the mobilization bases throughout the country, we would distribute 1 million registration applications for the sisters to participate in the general training of the mobilization of the army of the oppressed of the Guards Corps throughout the country. These applications are used for both general training and readiness activities behind the front. Considering that the existing bases are not prepared for the admission of large numbers of sisters, on the anniversary of the 2,000th day of the war, 2,000 training centers [dedicated to] Her Holiness were created throughout the country. Whenever they have the time, sisters can get military training in these centers.

Instructor Training

Sister Da'ipur said: In order to provide training instructors, an instructor training course will begin its work in Tehran from the end of Farvardin [20 April], in which 500 sisters will participate.

She added: In the first six months of this year, we intend to prepare 2,000 women instructors for military and emergency training throughout the country.

In addition to military techniques, the sisters will learn emergency aid and the methods for dealing with chemical bombs and air raids. Then, from the month of Ramazan [11 May-8 June], 250 sisters will participate in the instructor training course in Tehran.

She told the reporters: All the instructors are sisters.

Readiness of 2,000 Sisters

Sister Da'ipur said: Two thousand sisters with emergency training have announced their readiness to be sent immediately to the cities near the war zones, such as Ahvaz, Urmia, Sanandaj, and Bakhtaran. These sisters will soon be on their way as emergency helpers for the travelers to Karbala.

The chief of the mobilization of sisters said: So far, 300,000 sisters are in the military, emergency and ideological mobilization. With the planning that has been carried out in the first six months of the new year, half a million sisters will be given military and emergency training throughout the country.

She added: The general training course will last three weeks. There is no need for trained sisters to be sent to the front, because the brave men of Islam are present in large numbers. Whenever the defense council officials find it necessary, the sisters will be sent. But at present, they are not used, and only in connection with cultural, propaganda and support affairs will they be used.

She told the reporters: Considering the statements of the imam, initially 2,000 training centers for women have been created, the number of which will gradually increase.

Sister Da'ipur added: Trained sisters under the auspices of the army of 20 million have been significantly active in service, propaganda affairs, fighting counterrevolutionaries, visiting the families of the martyrs and prisoners, and as emergency personnel in the hospitals. Trained sisters, when they have more time, can be active members of the women's mobilization and be actively present on the resistance lines.

She added in conclusion: From today, the sisters can go to the mobilization for training. When filling out the application forms, they should attach three photographs, a photocopy of their birth certificate, and a consent form from their guardian or husband (which is available at the bottom of the application). The applicant's number is located at the bottom of the form. Once it is announced through the mass media or training centers, they should go to the centers for training.

Inauguration of First Training Course

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 20 Apr 86 p 15

[Text] Tehran. IRNA.

The first training course for the instructors and military officials of the sisters was inaugurated with the participation of 450 women members of the mobilization unit of the Guards Corps from throughout the country yesterday in the martyr Bahonar camp in Tehran.

In this course, various public defense techniques will be taught for teaching in the training centers of Her Holiness Zahra throughout the country.

In addition to becoming familiar with the techniques of chemical, biological, and radioactive emergency aid, sisters participating in this training course will also learn emergency aid and rescue techniques.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Rahmani, the head of the mobilization unit of the Guards Corps, spoke in the inauguration ceremonies of the first instructor training and military official course for the sisters, emphasized the necessity of familiarity with defense techniques on the part of everyone, and pointed out the areas of success in this important matter.

The head of the mobilization unit of the Guards Corps reported on the various dimensions of the invasion of the oppressors against Islam and Islamic values and said: Global oppression, since the victory of the Islamic revolution, has tested many methods to fight this movement. We consider it necessary, with the existing presence of the Islamic combatants on the battle fronts and the violent confrontation with the enemy, that all strata of the society, including the sisters, acquire the necessary readiness to confront the recent possible conspiracy of the enemy and the likelihood of the expansive and overall invasion of our Islamic homeland, to provide the grounds to respond to the imam's emphasis on the need for general participation in the public defense of the country.

In this regard, he stressed: Learning and teaching defensive techniques is a necessary preparation, and we hope that the sisters of our country will also acquire the necessary readiness for this matter through the preliminary training for civil defense.

The head of the mobilization unit of the Guards Corps expressed hope that in the future more resources would be provided for teaching defense techniques to the sisters. He added: For this purpose, certain programs are being studied to familiarize the sisters with the principles of civil defense in schools. Also, in the future a special barracks will be established in Tehran for this purpose.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Rahmani also thanked the sisters who with their round-the-clock efforts have accepted the responsibility for all training and provisional affairs to establish this course and pointed out: I hope that with inspiration from the messages and statements of the imam, who has emphasized the complete observation of all the Islamic precepts and values in training the sisters, you will be successful in observing these directives.

ARTICLE COMMENTS ON ALLIANCE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM, ISLAM

Paris NATIONAL HEBDO in French 1-7 May 86 p 10

[Article by Yves Brunaud]

[Text] While it is now public knowledge that the axis of international terrorism passes through Tripoli, but also through Damascus and Teheran, many nevertheless wonder who really benefits from the wave of attacks being unleashed on Western Europe.

Some observers see in Islam the sole link uniting the different regimes, and regard the rise of the Khomeyni-type fanaticism as the sole explanation for the current events. Others would be tempted to see it as purely and simply the hand of Moscow, whose strategies--it is true--do manipulate to a remarkable degree the peoples seeking to liberate themselves or take revenge on history.

However, an appearance very often halts the latter in their reasoning: while Syrian Hafiz al-Assad is the faithful ally--and even favored ally--of the Soviets in the Middle East; and Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi is a friend, difficult certainly, but one who has no less served their interests for 15 years; Ayatollah Khomeyni could not be suspected of allegiance toward the USSR, which in Teheran is called "Great Satan," like the United States.

Alignment with Moscow

However, this is to forget that this is a false symmetry, as was demonstrated beginning in November 1979 by the taking of the American hostages in Teheran. Since that affair, which marked an "irreversible turning point" in its foreign policy, the Islamic Republic has been practicing in effect a discreet, but systematic, alignment with Moscow. It is useful to refer to the chapter titled "Neither East nor West... but the Soviet Union" that the former rector of the University of Teheran, Houchang Nahavandi, devoted to this subject in "The Big Lie, the Somber Case of 'Islamic Fundamentalism'" (Nouvelles Editions Debrasse).

Has not the Iraqi-Iranian war, which began on 20 September 1980, changed this policy?

The USSR, linked to Saddam Husayn by a friendship treaty signed in 1972, is indeed the prime supplier of weapons to Baghdad. However, it should be emphasized that the USSR, which always likes to have two irons in the fire, nonetheless delivers arms to Iran by indirect routes: specifically, through Libya and Syria, as well as North Korea.

The Kremlin strategies, which are directed to the long term, thus have every interest in seeing the Gulf war--which bleeds both countries--drag on longer, so as to better bring to its knees a country, Iran, which has 2,000 km of border in common with the socialist homeland, without mentioning the 850 km with occupied Afghanistan.

As Hojatoleslam Rafsanjani, president of the Majlis (Iranian parliament), said on receiving Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kornienko in Teheran at the beginning of February: "For us, the USSR is not like the United States, the one mainly responsible for the crimes committed in the era of the Shah." The arrival in Teheran on 7 March of an economic delegation was to further consolidate this official normalization of relations between Moscow and Teheran.

Soviet Advisers and False Mullahs

And Afghanistan, is that not another apple of discord between Khomeyni and Gorbachev?

Quite the contrary, since the principal leaders of the Afghan resistance openly accuse Khomeyni of playing the game of the Soviet occupier. Commander Amin Wardak revealed: "Far from helping us, Khomeyni and his people have only sown division in our ranks. They have even used other mojahedin against us. Others, who had taken refuge in Iran, have been forced to go to fight against the Iraqis."

The few pro-Iranian Shiite groups (the great majority of Afghans are Sunni) "do not fight against the Soviets," explained Professor Mojaddedi, "they only kill other Muslims to expand their influence in the center of Afghanistan. That is disastrous for us." And the leader of the National Liberation Front warns the Iranian Government: "Remember the fate of Afghan President Daoud (overthrown by the coup d'etat of 27 April 1978), who had nevertheless permitted the development of Soviet influence in Afghanistan."

Will history repeat itself? Unfortunately, one has to fear this to be the case, seeing the galloping expansion of Soviet influence in Iran, the result of long work in infiltration of the activist clergy and the presence of several thousand Soviet experts. Without mentioning the cadres of the Iranian army, now being trained in the military academies of Frunze, Kiev and Leningrad, as if Iran had already become a "satellite."

If we are to believe the magazine JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY, more than 300 Iranian officers are sent every year to the USSR, while in exchange the Soviets reportedly use the monitoring stations that the Americans had to abandon with the fall of the Shah, 7 years ago.

This time was also put to use by the Soviets to train in Lebanon (or even in East Berlin) false mullahs, who--disguised in a beard and turban--are in fact real professional agitators. Two examples among many others:

--The so-called imam of the Hamburg mosque is only a terrorist leader who spent several years in Lebanon in the training camps of Palestinian Marxist Georges Habash.

--Likewise, Ayatollah Reyshahri, the minister of the state security, which has been created in Iran on the Soviet model, is not a Shiite religious man as one might believe, but a civilian whose real name is Mohammad Nik.

As the general public is likely to realize very soon, but too late, the Soviets have well prepared the succession to the old man of Qom. That is why from now on one can perhaps speak of "an objective alliance between Khomeynism and international communism," which is benefited by the terrorism conducted under the cover of Islam.

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KHAQANI: SHI'ISM NOT REDUCED TO KHOMEYNI, TEACHINGS

Paris LE MONDE in French 11-12 May 86 p 5

[Article by J-P Peroncel-Hugoz]

[Text] Shi'ism is defined in terms neither of its Iranian version nor of the person and teaching of its best-publicized ayatollah: the uncompromising Khomeyni.

The excesses of this master of Iran and even the title of imam that he allows people to bestow on him exasperate other dignitaries, who are anxious to let their feelings be known, even in Tehran.

He sits there, cross-legged on a divan, wrapped in the folds of his robes, telling the beads of a black chaplet; under the coils of his impeccably white turban and the curl of his doll's eyelashes, his look burns into you, and his blue beard glistens. An ayatollah, similar to those of Tehran or Beirut who are currently causing distress in the West.

Through the windows appears the green-white spring of Ile-de-France; we are not in Neauphle-le-Chateau, however, but in a location west of Paris nonetheless, seven years after the destructive exile of Khomeyni in this French village. "Those terrible years have done great damage to Islam, weakened Iran and dishonored the Iranians. In the past we could enter France without even a visa; today here and elsewhere every Iranian is regarded as a potential terrorist. The Shi'ite hierarchy, exiled internally or externally, has decided to strive toward the goal of recovering the lost honor of Islam and Iran."

Are we going to attempt to reinaugurate the uproarious Neauphle episode from the inside out? No, the Ayatollah Issa Shobeir Khaqani left the warmth of his Egyptian hosts for only a brief period of time and wants to meet with only one or two journalists, in order to make known "the proclamation of the faithful followers of His Eminence the Ayatollah Ozma Hadj Sayed Abolghassem Moussavi Khoy, the most revered spiritual leader of the world's Shi'ites."

A nonagenarian, Grand Ayatollah Khoy has lived at Najef in Iraq, one of the holy places of Shi'ism, since his youth. He has long been considered by the majority of the some 80 million Shi'ites spread across the globe (but chiefly in Asia)--and that would include the supporters of the Khomeyni regime, who

can in fact do nothing else but support it, without running the risk of being labeled "schismatics"--as the first among equals of a group of five or six ayatollahs who have the right to assume the designation of "ozma" (the greatest).

The Sacred List

After Abolghassem Khoy, and almost on the same level as he, come Shahabedin Marachi Najafi and Mohammed Reza Moussavi Golpaygani (both of whom reside at Qom in Iran). Until the death last April of Mohammed Kazem Shariat Madari, the religious opponent of the hierarchy of mullahs now reigning in Iran, and the best known abroad, he also held a high place on the sacred list.

It was thanks to him, the adversaries of Khomeyni are quick to recall, that the latter was able to become an ayatollah in 1963 and thus secure protection from the imperial police. Since he has become the "supreme guide" (velayat faguih) of the Islamic Republic, certain Shi'ites consider him "ozma," while others proclaim that neither his learning nor his political role predispose him to such a dignity. The chief concern of Khomeyni today is that his official successor, Hussein Ali Montazeri, who is but a simple ayatollah, be recognized as "ozma" by at least an appreciable segment of the Shi'ites.

In Najef, Khoy does not see things in this light. He belongs to a current that has been alive in Shi'ism since the end of the ninth century, when Mohammed El-Mahdi, the 12th legitimate imam of the Shi'ites since Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed, "hid himself" in Samarra in Iraq. As long as Mohammed the Expected One (El Montazer) has not emerged from his "occultation" to govern the Shi'ites once again, religious "must not take an active role in politics," opine Khoy and his followers.

Except "when the fatherland is in danger": for example when the last Qadjar Shahs bartered Persia to England (1890) or when Reza Khan, the future first Pahlavi Shah, wanted to abolish the monarchic form of government. In these situations, the pontiffs of Shi'ism come out of their meditations, speak out and are generally heard. In 1890, to force Tehran to annul the tobacco monopoly that had been granted to an Englishman, the great Ayatollah Shirazi had but to ask the people to stop smoking, and the whole empire obeyed as one man.

"Today we believe that the people are ready to support an enterprise destined to replace the abusive regime under which it now suffers." The organization of the faithful followers of Ayatollah Khoy, newly reconstituted, and whose principal handicap is without doubt the fact that its moral center is in Iraq, "counts friends in the bazaar, in parliament, in academe, in the army and even in the government. We have money and weapons. But we are opposed to violence and terrorism, and as guardians of the Shi'ite faith, we feel that our role is above all to create a moral climate favorable to the regrouping of non-communist opponents and to the political combat."

Charged with spreading this message to the outside world, Ayatollah Issa Khaqani was born in 1940. He is the brother of Ayatollah Mohammed Taher Shobeir Khaqani, a septuagenarian who passed away this year at his residence in Qom, kept under constant surveillance. The deceased was not "ozma" but figured among the famous theologians. His younger brother is following in his footsteps, and in the mean-

time, after serving as "chaplain" to the Shi'ites of the Emirate of Qatar for 12 years, he has, as he puts it, just been "enthroned" in exile as the spiritual leader of the Shi'ites of Khuzistan, the wealthy Iranian province that has large numbers of Arab-speakers. It has been thus "for 20 generations" with the Khaqani family, one of the old Shi'ite lineages, which, however, unlike Khomeyni's (See "Khomeiny" by Amir Taheri, Balland 1985) or Khoy's, cannot boast of a family tree that goes back to Mohammed.

Issa Khaqani, who "feels that he is Iranian as much as he is Muslim," studied under Shariat Madari and Khomeyni in Qom, then he himself taught Koranic studies and Arabic literature. It is a pleasure to hear him quote literally from the works of Abu Nauas (8th century) or Ahmed Shauki (1868-1932), poets who normally veil their faces somewhat from the clergy of Islam.

It is refreshing, too, to hear this "young turban," as emissary of the sacred college, representing a major segment of eminent Shi'ite theologians, state that the Muslim faith and the chief requirements of our times are compatible: "Non-Muslim nationals and women, too, may take part in governing the nation. The Koran asks women to cover themselves, but it does not require them to be forced to do this." "No constraint in religion!" says the Book. "The Bahais (a non-violent sect that grew out of Persian Islam during the 19th century and have been persecuted with particular severity under Khomeyni) must in no case be constrained by violence, but attempts must be made to bring them back to Islam through discussion."

And again: "The attitude with respect to Israel is based purely on politics and must therefore be determined by the government and not by religious." Concerning the Hezbollahis (Shi'ite extremists in Lebanon): "They are terrorists and thus we condemn them unequivocally."

Concerning Qadhdhafi: "The difference between Qadhdhafi and Khomeyni is that the former does only political damage to the Arabs, whereas the latter is a moral, religious and political scourge to the Iranians."

Khoy and his associates had followed the activity of Khomeyni closely from the beginning of the revolution, and in any case they have always questioned his holding the title of imam, "which can be borne only by Mohammed El-Mahdi, the "hidden imam." Issa Khaqani himself went to see Khomeyni at Neauphle-le-Chateau and later in Tehran: "I knew him during my student days, but this time he appeared to me under a different, terrifying light: he seemed eager to see blood flow. I was not the only one to have received that impression, which the conduct of the war against Iraq was to corroborate, for if Iraq did set the war in motion, it is not Iraq that now prolongs it."

The Manifesto

Even then, why did they wait so long to issue warnings against Khomeyni: "The Iranian and international enthusiasm was so high then that we would have been preaching in the desert." Finally in December 1985, Khoy, who they claim is still vigorous despite his advanced age (He has just married a wife), published a fatua (decision) pursuant to the complaints of a number of farmers in northern Iran, dispossessed by Tehran "in contradiction to the law of Islam."

The manifesto of the followers of Ayatollah Khomeini, which with its explicit guarantee is to be distributed shortly in Iran, is a clear denunciation of all government excesses: the war against coreligionists, the sending of children into the "fields of massacre," the ruin of the economy, various repressive measures, a climate of hatred and violence and the appropriation of the property of others. This group declares itself "ready to support both morally and materially" all Iranians who are of a mind to "liberate the nation from the ill-fated power of the 'supreme guide' (Khomeini) and at the same time to rid the world of one of the major centers of international terrorism."

When these goals have been reached "with the help of God," "free elections" will be organized to put in place a constituent assembly. It will then be up to the nation to "decide on the form--monarchy or republic--that the Iranian nation will take henceforth. Our mission will cease completely when the new government has undertaken a commitment to respect human rights and the charter of the United Nations. Beauty will then be restored to the face of Iran, now disfigured by a monstrous tumor."

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IRAN

BRITISH PARLIAMENTARIANS: 12 THOUSAND EXECUTED BY REGIME

London KEYHAN in Persian 1 May 86 p 2

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] The human rights group of the British Parliament, in which 117 of the representatives of the House of Commons and the House of Lords from all British parties are members and participate, this week published a detailed report concerning human rights violations in Iran during the Khomeyni government.

Lord (Ayuburi), who heads this group in the British Parliament, writes in an introduction to the report:

The report quite clearly describes the horrible violation of human rights during the past seven years in Iran and states that, most unfortunately, some aspects of these violations are increasing and have become common and continual.

"The idea for an overall examination of the human rights situation in Iran during the government of Ayatollah Khomeyni was formed in a meeting we held with Dr Shapur Bakhtiar. It was later that much effort began towards the study and preparation of this report. We express our deepest thanks to our colleague Mr Michael (Rudni) for carrying out this laborious task, which is based on exact documentation and evidence."

The report begins as follows:

Every year, a larger number of executions are carried out in Iran than in any other country in the world.

Various kinds of torture are used regularly as punishment or in order to obtain confessions.

On the whole, no fair trial takes place in Iran.

Political opponents and members of workers' unions are burned, beaten and executed.

Minorities are subjected to extreme hardships.

The report itself is prepared in 10 parts. Below is a summary of various parts of the report for our readers.

1. Executions

The number of persons executed every year in Iran is greater than that of any other country in the world. The number of persons executed has not decreased since the height of the revolution. On the contrary, executions continue, and since 1979, every year, hundreds of thousands have been executed. In 1984, a number of Justice Department attorneys announced that 159 kinds of offenses are punishable by execution. Most of these offenses are vague, such as "evil thoughts," "fighting against God," and "enmity with the people and the revolution." About 12,000 people have been executed since Khomeyni came to power, in other words, 4 persons per day since Khomeyni took over the government. Khomeyni's government has attempted to assassinate its opponents abroad; among such attempts are the attempt on Dr Bakhtiar in 1980 and the killing of two members of the National Resistance Movement, Major Shahvardilu and Col 'Aziz Moradi, in Istanbul in 1985.

2. Torture

All political prisoners are tortured. Beatings and lashings in prisons are common practices. For lashings, plastic water hoses, electrical wires, and barbed wire are used. Other forms of torture are carefully designed to create maximum pain and discomfort, for example, the Apolo. (The Apolo is a torture wire with which the prisoner is tied to a chair with a metal helmet on his head and given an electric shock. He is also beaten at the same time. The metal helmet greatly intensifies the shouts of the prisoner.)

3. Lack of Fair Trials

The possibility of a fair trial has decreased significantly since the revolution. The innocence of the accused until his crime is proven does not exist in the judicial system. As a result, arbitrary arrests and jailing for no discernable reason are daily problems for the Iranian people. The current laws of Iran do not allow or make possible the examination of the legality of arrests and imprisonment in a neutral court. Furthermore, it is impossible to bail a prisoner out of jail. Trials are only carried out by the Shar' magistrate, who is both the prosecutor and the judge. The accused cannot defend himself. Most trials are very brief, that is, no more than a few minutes in length. There is credible evidence indicating that one of Khomeyni's traveling magistrates condemned 53 people to death in 45 minutes while waiting for his airplane to refuel in the airport.

4. Situation of Religious Minorities

The regime's treatment of religious and ethnic minorities, like its treatment of political prisoners, is very savage. Those who are believers in non-Shi'ite religions, such as the Jews, Christians, Zoroastrians, Sunni Muslims,

and Baha'is, have been hurt or harassed to one degree or another. Also, ethnic minorities, such as the Baluches and particularly the Kurdish people, have not been safe from the slaughter and violence of the regime.

5. Social Liberty

At the present, no opposition party is allowed to operate in Iran. Neither are the labor unions allowed to operate in Iran. Political opponents are executed without trials. Strikes are prevented by the guards and by the shooting and killing of strikers.

The international labor organization has expressed its concern over the forced labor of individuals about whose incomes the regime is suspicious.

6. Freedom of Expression

The mass media is entirely controlled by the government. With the exception of one or two, all printing houses are directly managed by the government. The managers of nongovernmental publications face threats of imprisonment, torture and execution, particularly if there is the slightest criticism in their publications. The committee for the defense of writers and reporters has announced that up to 1983, 3,000 newspapers and magazines in Iran had been closed down, 39 writers and reporters had been executed, and more than 400 reporters and writers had fled Iran. The world committee on censorship has announced that during the past six years the governing clerics have systematically rewritten ancient Iranian history as they have seen fit. They teach this distorted history to the younger generation.

7. Personal Liberties

Khomeyni has frequently pointed out the need to respect some of the most fundamental of personal liberties. However, the monitoring of telephone conversations, the opening of letters, and the illegal entry and search of private homes occur with regularity.

8. Females

According to the current laws of Iran, females are under the control of men from birth. The minimum marriage age for females is nine years. Girls are sometimes forced to marry between the ages of 9 and 14. During her whole life, a female is under the control of either her father or her husband. Temporary marriage, which is in fact a form of prostitution, allows a man to have any woman become a wife without a husband for a short period of time. Evidence from a variety of sources indicates that pregnant women have been executed.

9. Young People

Evidence shows that hundreds of children have been executed since Khomeyni came to power. Some of the children executed have been 13 years old. The execution of youngsters under the age of 18 is prohibited by international

law. The government uses underage young men in the war. Youths are used regularly to clear the mine fields.

10. War Crimes

Last year, the United Nations announced that as the result of the war, 250,000 persons had been killed, 500,000 people had been seriously injured, and 2 million people had become homeless.

The government of Iran has claimed that more than 100,000 Iranian soldiers have been killed in the war. The International Red Cross has accused the governments of Iran and Iraq of violating the laws of war. Reports available indicate that prisoners of war have been shot after surrendering because the weak economy of Iran is unable to support them.

The British Parliament report briefly concludes that murder, plunder and the violation of all human rights principles continue in Iran under the leadership of Khomeyni. The level of violations and government insecurity have not decreased but have actually increased in the past six years.

This report concludes that at the present, more than ever before, there is need for international pressure on the government in the hopes that as a result of such pressure, Khomeyni will be forced to respect basic human rights in Iran.

Facts about the Conditions in Iran

Concerning the British Parliament report on human rights, Dr Shapur Bakhtiar, the leader of the National Resistance Movement of Iran, announced:

I have studied this report with interest. I must congratulate Lord (Ayuburi) and his colleagues for its thoroughness and thank them for their concern over the calamities of the Iranian people.

It is with pleasure that the National Resistance Movement of Iran has helped in the preparation of this report by providing and submitting some of the evidence and documents. The report decidedly provides the people in the Western democracies, who live in peace and freedom, with some facts concerning the conditions in Iran so that they can become aware that during the unjust era of Khomeyni in Iran, no group, including women, children and minorities, is safe from the injustice and violence.

Iran is one of the cosigners of the UN international agreement on civil and political rights, which prohibits the torture, execution and imprisonment of individuals without a trial. For this reason, Khomeyni and his criminal, terrorist supporters must be dismissed from the legal arena of the international community.

Of course, with the drop in the price of oil, I do not think the life of Khomeyni's government will be long. And if the delivery of arms to the hostile parties is stopped, undoubtedly, one could be more hopeful for the

establishment of peace, the safeguarding of human rights and the establishment of democracy in Iran.

Western democracies must not be indifferent to the distressing situation in Iran. Under such conditions, this report and the expressions of concern on the part of the British parliamentary group deserve full appreciation.

The publication of this report provides the opportunity for the people of English-speaking countries to become fully aware of the extent of the crimes that are taking place in Iran under the bloody government of Ruhollah Khomeyni, regardless of the extensive propaganda to the contrary on the part of the government of the Islamic Republic throughout the world.

The Persian translation of this publication will be made available to our beloved compatriots in the near future, so that while reviewing the injustice of the regime of the Islamic Republic against the Iranian nation during the past cruel seven years, they can also be informed of the effective and beneficial activities that are taking place before the international assemblies to show the ugly face of the reactionary government of Khomeyni.

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BRIEFS

KURDISH SUCCESSES IN IRAQ--According to a Central News Unit report, Muslim Kurdish peshmergahs of Iraq succeeded in liberating regions of Mangish, Sawarah-Tekkah, Bamarni, and Borgah, all situated in northern Iraq, during the past few days. They also took under their control three military bases in Sangi region near Dahuk. The report indicates that in liberating these regions more than 1,000 Iraqi servicemen died and almost 300 of them were captured by the Muslim Kurdish peshmergahs. In the liberation of Mangish region, a helicopter and three APCs were captured by the Muslim peshmergahs. According to the same report, repeated defeats suffered by Iraqi forces in northern Iraq have heightened feelings of fear and despair among Iraqi forces. As a result, in the past few days, 2,500 deceived personnel of the Saddamist forces have given themselves up to the Muslim Kurdish peshmergahs. [Text] [Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 24 May 86 LD] /6662

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